

Copper, Chile, and Communism—*Carleton Beals*

THE *Nation*

October 13, 1951

TV at the Crossroads

Vital Policies in the Making

BY EDWARD LAMB and HARVEY LEVIN

✱

Britain's Coming Crisis

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

✱

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 13, 1951

NUMBER 15

The Shape of Things

THE RIGHT AND LEFT WINGS OF THE British Labor Party cooperated in making that organization's conference at Scarborough a love-feast at which all oratorical acid-throwing was directed at the political enemy. "My differences with my colleagues," said Aneurin Bevan in one speech, "are microscopic compared with my differences with the Conservatives. . . . No matter what our excuse, we must never allow the British Labor Party to become schismatic and must fight at all costs a repetition of what has happened to Continental socialism. . . . That is why when the election was decided on, I and my friends had no hesitation at all in saying that nothing must be allowed to prevent us from uniting our forces to destroy the challenge now made to our movement." All the same, the skeleton of internal dissension could not be kept under wraps all the time. In the course of discussions on policy it became clear that a good many of the delegates representing local Labor parties, as distinct from the affiliated trade unions which exercise the bulk of the voting power, shared Mr. Bevan's misgivings about the scope and tempo of the rearmament program. Moreover, in the election of the party's National Executive, in which representatives of the local parties voted separately for seven out of the twenty-five members, the "rebels" made a strong showing. The return of Mr. Bevan himself at the top of the poll, a position he also occupied last year, was not surprising in view of his personal popularity. More significant was the big increase in votes recorded for three of his associates who were also elected. Thus, while the Bevanites have not actually increased their strength on the Executive, they can claim a moral victory.

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THE NEW MEXICO SUPREME COURT HAS ruled that teachers in the public schools cannot wear religious garb but has specifically avoided saying that members of the Catholic religious orders are ineligible to teach in tax-supported schools. Even before the case was decided, however, the church had permanently withdrawn nuns from the public schools after having provided such teachers many years. The court decision reflects this change in policy, which in turn reflects a change in the *mores*. Today 60 per cent of the

state's voters are to be found in the so-called "Little Texas" counties of eastern and southern New Mexico, which are also known as the "Bible Belt." With the influx of Protestants the church began to withdraw its teachers from the public schools of these counties and to transfer them to schools in the mountainous portion of northern New Mexico, where the Spanish-speaking are concentrated. The Supreme Court's ruling marks a new step in this process of withdrawal, since the case arose in Dixon, which is located in northern New Mexico. But there is no evidence that the church either in New Mexico or elsewhere has abandoned its demand for state aid for parochial schools. On the contrary, the French Assembly has just voted to give public funds to Catholic schools, thus abandoning the principle of separation which has prevailed since 1905. And the Pope's recent homily to the first International Congress of Teaching Nuns makes it quite clear that the church in all countries demands legislation which will afford Catholic schools a status and freedom equal to that enjoyed by public schools. This certainly implies state aid.

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DURING THE TRUCE TALKS AT KAESONG, and after they were suspended, the U. N. command in Korea kept sending out warnings that the Communists were unscrupulously using the negotiation period to rebuild and regroup their forces for a big offensive. However, when the offensive opened last week it was not the Communists but the U. N. that started it, and dispatches from the front said that advancing U. N. forces found deep dugouts in the abandoned enemy lines—certainly no sign of a coming drive. With the offensive came the first real break in the diplomatic deadlock. The Communists accepted Ridgway's proposal that the truce talks be resumed at a point in no man's land instead of at Kaesong, on which they had previously insisted. The great danger now is that new talks will bog down in the same dispute over truce boundaries. On this issue an ingenious suggestion was made the other day by the *London Times*, which pointed out that since there was no realistic chance of creating a "united, independent, democratic" Korea today, the U. N. should define more limited political aims, which could hardly be other than the status quo ante. The U. N. should state without delay its willingness to "recognize the Thirty-eighth

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CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 434 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 316

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Parallel as the frontier . . . as soon as the Communists had proved their willingness to stop the war by accepting an armistice on the lines demanded by General Ridgway." This, the *Times* said, would provide military protection to the U. N. forces, while assuring the Communists that the U. N. "had abandoned all idea of advancing to the frontier of Manchuria." Of course there is no guaranty that such a compromise would be agreed to, but at least it offers a sensible way out of the present deadlock.

✱

MRS. IONE SWAN, THE LOS ANGELES SCHOOL teacher whose defiance of the Board of Education and consequent dismissal were described by Hannah Bloom in *The Nation* of May 26, lost a battle but is winning the war against graft and inefficiency in the school administration. On September 18 Superior Court Judge Otto J. Emme sustained Mrs. Swan's dismissal on grounds of "insubordination, unprofessional conduct, violation of school rules, and evident unfitness for service." His reasons, in the light of recent events, are hardly convincing. The opinion said: "An important part of the education of any child is the instilling of proper respect for authority and obedience to necessary discipline. Lessons are learned from example as well as precept. The example of a teacher who is continually insubordinate . . . may seriously affect the discipline in a school . . . and teach children lessons they should not learn." In the ten months during which Mrs. Swan has been attacking the board's "phony code of ethics," all her charges have been corroborated; two board members who voted themselves fat commissions on school contracts have been ousted from office; a third member faces trial following a grand-jury accusation of "wilful and corrupt misconduct"; and further legal action is pending. Apparently profiteering and misuse of public office are the "lessons" school children are expected to learn by example. In announcing her intention to appeal the verdict, Mrs. Swan pointed to the paradox of punishing the accused in one court of law while her charges were being proved in others.

✱

THE PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOUT security news restrictions is in keeping with the Administration's general policy of attempting to control opinion by the issuance of politically inspired press releases. The nation's press and radio services were quick to denounce the order. The National Association of Radio News Directors asked Congress for speedy action on a bill which would nullify the order, and the A. P.'s Managing Editors' Association not only deplored the directive as posing "the most important censorship problem of the year"—taking precedence over the Oatis case—but declared that ways should be found to circumvent it. The American Society of Newspaper Editors was strong-

ly against the order last July when it was first proposed. At that time the society called attention to the vague language of the order, which refers to information injurious to national security without clearly defining what constitutes an injury. The President did not help matters much with his subsequent statement that 95 per cent of the nation's security information had already been released by newspapers and magazines. If this is true, then what purpose has been served by the loyalty program and similar measures? We share the view of the *Gazette and Daily* of York, Pennsylvania, that the best way to start adding to the security of the nation is to let the public know the public's business.

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THE SUGGESTION OF SENATOR DOUGLAS that Congress limit the deduction of entertainment and travel expenses from taxable corporate income will probably strike more fear into the heart of the average business man than all the talk of higher corporate rates. It is no secret that high corporate rates, especially the excess-profits tax, have increased the temptation to pad the expense account in order to reduce the tax bill. The "swindle sheet" today takes more money from Uncle Sam than from the employer. So while applauding Senator Douglas's suggestion, we wonder why it singles out liquor and travel. Is sending a case of liquor to a customer different from giving him tickets to "South Pacific" or seats at a World Series ball game? The Senator's recommendation that deductible travel expenses be limited to \$12 a year is a good one. On entertainment there should be a percentage limitation to be determined perhaps by a study of returns in low-rate years. Senator Douglas also suggested a study of the entire question of deductions, which he feels has been a source of great tax avoidance. When one compares the business man's ability to regulate his corporation's tax bill with the helplessness of a wage-earner whose tax is deducted before he ever sees his pay envelope, Senator Douglas's position takes on added appeal.

✱

THE ATTEMPT OF THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE to require state employees, including college faculty members, to sign a ten-year retroactive loyalty oath has been temporarily nullified by a ruling of Attorney General Price Daniel. Daniel has held that the oath, which was attached as a rider to an appropriation bill, can only govern the two-year period covered by the bill. The Board of Regents of the University of Texas, by a five-to-four vote, had requested the ruling. The Attorney General informed the Regents, however, that a loyalty oath might be constitutional if passed as a general law, and such a bill is almost certain to be introduced in the next session of the legislature. Texas still has on its stat-

utes a 1949 loyalty oath which requires college students and faculty members to swear that they do not belong, and for two years past have not belonged, to any organization advocating the overthrow of the government by force. The Attorney General has never been requested to prepare a ruling on the constitutionality of this law, nor has it been tested in the courts. Also still applicable, and untested, is an oath which requires state employees to swear that they are not members of any organization listed by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive.

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AN ESSENTIAL FEATURE OF DUE PROCESS, the free choice of counsel, is about to be denied to American Indians. Interior Department regulations now pending place lawyers for Indian tribes under the authority of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and vest them with only secondary responsibility to the clients who pay their fees. This departure from democratic principles is the more reprehensible in that the actions for which tribes need counsel have often been brought of late against the Commissioner himself. According to the Association on American Indian Affairs, the authority over tribal attorneys now being assumed by the Department of the Interior is without basis in existing statutes and directly contrary to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Tribes organized under that act are guaranteed freedom of action in matters of contracts. The present effort to control their contractual relations with attorneys sets back the Indians' progress toward self-government and full exercise of their citizenship rights. The President should tell his administrators that their "regulations" must comply with the principles of American constitutional government and the specific statutes governing their procedure.

✱

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS WISE TO withdraw the remaining oil technicians at Abadan instead of sending in an expeditionary force to hold the refinery—a course urged upon it by the Conservative press. But it would surely have been better to have taken this step three months ago when the refinery closed down. No good has been accomplished by maintaining a toe-hold in Iran. On the contrary, the presence in Abadan of this idle and unhappy body of men has impeded negotiations both by irritating the Iranians and by encouraging them to postpone facing the question of how to keep their Alladin's lamp from turning into a white elephant. And now that withdrawal has taken place under pressure, Dr. Mossadegh has been presented with an easy victory which bolsters his position at home and enables

Next week Willard Shelton will tell the story behind the story of the Administration's fight against McCarthy.

him to appear before the United Nations with a new authority. It has also given Mr. Churchill and the Tories an opportunity to lambast the Labor government for weakness and incompetence. Nevertheless, on this issue they have had to pick their way carefully, and not surprisingly Mr. Churchill has not immediately responded to Foreign Secretary Morrison's challenge to say "whether in his judgment we should have gone to war with Persia." In rejecting the demands of those who wished to protect British interests in Iran with arms, the British government had to take into account the strong opposition of Washington to such an operation. Thus Mr. Churchill, the prophet of Anglo-American unity, cannot attack the government too sharply unless he is prepared to declare publicly that it should have ignored the State Department's views. Moreover, too bellicose a line on Iran might increase the effectiveness of Labor's pointed question to the voters: "Whose finger do you want on the trigger?"

Eisenhower to the Fore

RECENT events have suddenly invested the Eisenhower boom with new substance and meaning. The General, of course, has still not said that he is a candidate, but the stage has certainly been set for such an announcement.

The stage-managing began early in September when Senator Taft returned to Washington after testing out issues and sounding sentiment in Maine, Minnesota, and South Dakota. Unfortunately for Mr. Taft, the people were testing him while he was trying slogans and arguments on them. At Rockland, Maine, the Senator addressed an audience whose lack of enthusiasm was too extreme to be explained as a manifestation of traditional Yankee reserve or even in terms of the deep torpor induced by a lobster "feed" that cost \$2.50 a plate. The audience, observers noted, "sat on its hands" and "coldly disregarded" Senator Owen Brewster's cheer-leader efforts to incite an ovation for Taft. Nor was there much greater warmth in the receptions which Taft received in South Dakota and Minnesota. Republican Party officials from coast to coast must have drawn the conclusion implicit in the reports of this disappointing trial run. In fact, Mr. Taft is probably the only influential Republican who failed to sense the message of the reports.

But even Mr. Taft could hardly miss the meaning of a full-page editorial in the October 1 issue of *Life*, warning him against the "mink-like cunning" of Senator McCarthy. The reasoning of the editorial is more important than the conclusion. The Korean war, it seems, has forced Truman and Acheson to take a position "beyond all suspicion of pro-communism"! Indeed, we have achieved such a degree of "comparative security against

internal communism" as to make it unlikely that Houdini, if alive, could get near a government pay roll today. Thus domestic communism, McCarthy version, would be "a phony issue" for the Republicans to raise in 1952, the more so as the FBI, the McCarran committee, and the Wood committee, whose procedures impress *Life* as being fair and unbiased, are carrying out the necessary mopping up operations with admirable efficiency and dispatch. The impudence of this rationalization reflects more than an awareness of the perils of McCarthyism: it assumes that anti-communism as a political tactic has served its purpose, since all significant political opposition to a fight-communism foreign policy has either been crushed or silenced. With unanimity comes magnanimity.

On October 2 Governor James F. Byrnes of South Carolina announced that he would not support President Truman in 1952, urged the South to ignore "political labels" next year, and repudiated Senator Karl Mundt's "coalition" proposal. On the same day Senator James H. Duff of Pennsylvania, speaking at Lexington, North Carolina, came out openly for Eisenhower for the first time and predicted that as the Republican nominee the General would carry such normally Democratic states as North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, and Florida. Both speeches were the product of converging forces. On the one hand, some of the Southern Dixiecrats would like to avoid a split in their own ranks between coalitionists and non-coalitionists. On the other hand, the non-isolationist Republicans want to upset the coalition idea as a means of checkmating Taft, who doubtless favors the proposal. It was as though Senator Duff had said to the Dixiecrats: "Look, you don't need to support coalition; simply support Eisenhower." At the same time "the trend of world events," as James Reston reported in the *New York Times* of September 30, appeared to be pushing Eisenhower into the race if only to insure Congressional backing for phases of the Truman foreign policy which he strongly urges.

General Eisenhower's candidacy would force a major and perhaps final showdown between the Taft-MacArthur-McCormick-McCarthy wing and the Duff-Warren-Dewey-Lodge wing of the Republican Party. But the General's backers have doubtless concluded that his ability to draw Democratic and particularly Southern votes more than offsets the risk of some defection on the part of diehard isolationists of the McCormick variety. Moreover, the General could probably win the support of eight or ten liberal Republican Senators who are not favorably regarded in the party's inner councils but who have real public influence and demonstrated ability as campaigners. Although some of these Senators prefer Paul G. Hoffman, Mr. Hoffman is at the moment listed as a supporter of General Eisenhower.

Now that the stage has been set for an Eisenhower

announcement, the questions arise: Would President Truman decide not to be a candidate if the Republicans were to nominate General Eisenhower? How could he wage an effective campaign against a man, closely identified with his foreign policy, of whom he has often spoken with respect and admiration? And if not Truman, whom could the Democrats nominate that would have a chance of defeating General Eisenhower? The General would of course face the same difficulties in a campaign in which Mr. Truman was the Democratic nominee—a circumstance which has been noted by many Republicans, including some of the General's supporters.

The events of the past few weeks suggest that agreement has been reached on crucial phases of American foreign policy by critics of the Administration. Now that Truman and Acheson have been pushed into a policy of such "firmness" in Asia that they are free of the suspicion of being "pro-Communist," has a new solidarity suddenly developed among dominant power groupings in the Republican Party? And was Senator William Knowland's high praise for Mr. Acheson's performance at San Francisco an omen of this agreement? To a degree, the quarrel between Asia Firsters and Europe Firsters has now been sunk in the larger determination to concentrate American military power in all theaters. This reconciliation would account for the new impetus behind the Eisenhower movement. Agreements on means often follow easily once the ends have been determined.

Churchill Over France

Paris, October 3

IN THE midst of the economic and political confusion here, one question sticks out a mile: what will be the result of the British general election? On the answer that will be given to it depend the answers to a hundred other questions, and partly for this reason the French Parliament was sent home last week and all major decisions postponed till November.

One of the most important developments of the past few weeks has been the almost imperceptible but undeniable rapprochement of France and Britain. The French attempt to become Uncle Sam's fair-haired boy—which began with the Pleven and Auriol visits to Washington earlier in the year, and which explains the feeble stand taken by France in the matter of China and Korea—is now seen to have been a failure; and this fact has not been obscured by the welcome given to General de Lattre de Tassigny—*Time's* description of him as "the French MacArthur" was a compliment not much appreciated in Paris.

The Washington and Ottawa conferences were in general so disappointing that a fellow-feeling for Britain is growing in France such as has not existed for a long time. The personality of Herbert Morrison has much to

do with it. With Ernest Bevin the French never had a common language. They suspected he had an innate distaste for "Frogs" and a sneaking preference for Germany. His surrender on the whole principle of German rearmament at the end of 1950, which put the French in such a fix, was considered typical of his attitude. Herbert Morrison is felt to have a genuine feeling for the common cultural heritage of Britain and France and a clear understanding of Western Europe's worries and inhibitions. Apparently he realizes also that the time for British self-righteousness in relation to France is over.

Above all, the French in Washington and Ottawa received the strong impression that Morrison was a man of peace, one who would resist an adventurous, "crusading" policy that could bring only disaster to Western Europe, Britain included. He recognized, they believed, as fully as they did the deadly danger of German rearmament if it was not carried out in strict accordance with the French principle of the "European army." At the same time he seemed as well aware as the French that the "European army" might be used by the United States as a mere façade. Finally, the French were impressed by Morrison's refusal to consider World War III inevitable. French government circles are convinced that Russia is now on the defensive, and that the Grotewohl proposal, for example, offers a basis for discussion; they have a feeling that Morrison is with them there.

The alternative is Churchill. Churchill is a legend and all that, but when he came to Paris about a fortnight ago, responsible persons who saw and heard him were dumbfounded. The essence of his "policy" was to "talk to Stalin," and if this talk failed, to authorize all-out German rearmament. As his French listeners interpreted it, he was going to present Stalin with an ultimatum, and if Stalin did not yield, then the "free world" would have to accept the likelihood of war.

The feeling in the French government is that if the Russians think there is at least a fifty-fifty chance of avoiding war, they will not attack Western Europe. If they believe war inevitable, they will not wait. Morrison, it is thought here, will patiently work for peace against obstacles from all sides. Churchill, on the other hand, will "demand" peace, and if he does not get it on his own terms, he will grimly accept the alternative and damn the consequences.

Apart from that, a Tory victory would almost surely cause the fall of the present wait-and-see government in France, and of the center-Socialist coalition that would probably succeed it, and lead to the formation of a reactionary quasi-dictatorship under Paul Reynaud. Over seventy but still ambitious, Reynaud would like a chance to make up for his 1940 fiasco, and to bask in Churchill's reflected glory.

A. W.

October 13, 1951

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This Is Scandinavia

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Copenhagen, September 30

SWEDEN and Norway both have Socialist governments, but Norway is wholeheartedly in favor of the Atlantic Pact and Sweden is politically and temperamentally neutral. Of course there are dissenting elements in both countries. Norway has strong pacifist traditions, and neutralist currents can be seen even within the Labor Party; in Sweden support for the Atlantic Pact is voiced by the largest Stockholm newspaper, the *Liberal Dagens Nyheter*. Denmark is ruled by a coalition of Agrarians and Conservatives but has an effective Socialist opposition. It is a member of the Atlantic Pact but not an enthusiastic one; Denmark is, in fact, the only member with a large political group opposed to participation, in this case the Liberal Party. Even among official supporters of the pact, few people in Denmark deny that they would have preferred the Scandinavian alliance proposed by Sweden.

All three countries are in the process of rearming and caught in the common dilemma of rearmament vs. better living standards. Apparently, however, they have managed to keep their rearmament to proportions that do not affect the standard of living too seriously.

Sometimes it seems as if the only part of continental Western Europe that makes sense is Scandinavia. Words like "freedom" and "democracy" which have such a hollow sound in West Germany, and, alas, in a good many other Western countries, here mean what they should: "democracy" means not merely political but economic democracy, and "freedom" is something purer than what certain American Senators talk so much about. I will give a small example of Scandinavian economic democracy. At Holmenkollen outside Oslo, on a hill overlooking the fjord, there is a large restaurant where anyone can go for a glass of beer or a cheap and reasonably good meal, with no extra charge for the view. On a similarly choice site outside Paris, in the Bois de Boulogne, are three restaurants which only the very rich can afford to patronize.

Norway's economic development since the war can fairly be described as marvelous. The merchant fleet, exclusive of fishing vessels, has doubled in five years to nearly six million tons; the fishing fleet has been fully rebuilt. The rate of investment at 35 per cent of the national income is the highest in Europe. Electric-power production is nearly twice the pre-war figure; the alum-

inum and sulphur industries have been greatly developed. The \$400,000,000 of Marshall aid has been well used, and since the middle of 1950 the adverse balance of trade has dwindled to almost nothing. Nor is this only because the Korean war has boosted timber and shipping prices.

Among the proud claims made by the Norwegian government are the following: although suits and overcoats are still rationed, the per capita consumption of textiles is 20 per cent higher than before the war; real wages are 10 to 15 per cent higher—or were until the recent price rises; incomes average \$1,250 a year per family and are more evenly distributed than in any other country. Furthermore, the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe recently established that in house construction Norway is above all other countries, with 32 rooms per 1,000 inhabitants built in 1950, as against 23 for Sweden and 20 for Finland and Britain.

In Parliament the Labor Party has an absolute majority—86 seats out of 150. The nationalized sector of the economy is about the same as in Britain, including the Bank of Norway, the railroads, steel, and aluminum. The chemical trust is not nationalized but is government-controlled, as is 75 per cent of the mining—copper, iron ore, and the Spitzbergen coal. Electricity is partly controlled. Since the war the fishing industry has gone through a "silent revolution" and become one vast co-operative with such a strong monopolist position that even the government is a little in awe of it. However, it sells fish cheap in Norway, and the government has better relations with it than with the farmers' co-operatives, in which it is sometimes necessary to play off the small farmers against the large. The trade unions, with a membership of half a million, form a closely knit body and are therefore in a better position than the British Trade Union Congress to carry out a general wage policy. Since 1945 there has been only one strike, and that was a political strike inspired by the Communists against the Marshall Plan.

In the last election the Labor Party received 820,000 votes as against the Communists' 100,000. The relatively high Communist vote is not attributed to economic discontent, of which there is very little, but to ideology and tradition; some of the best-paid municipal employees are among the most active Communists in the country. (The same is true in Sweden.) The Norwegian Labor Party was actually a member of the Comintern for some years, and the present-day Communists are the wing which decided to remain faithful to Moscow. It is a

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standing joke in Norway that mighty few members of the government would be able to get an American visa.

While Norwegians would of course like to remain neutral in another war, they do not think it would be possible. But Norway is not straining its finances beyond endurance on rearmament. Military expenditures represent no more than 20 per cent of the budget, or 6 per cent of the national income. Except for some specialized troops the term of enlistment has been raised only to a year, from the former nine months, with supplementary training periods of two months.

Headquarters of the northern division of N. A. T. O. are at Oslo, and numerous large airfields are being fully prepared, but Norwegian officials are emphatic that no American troops are to be stationed in Norway. King Haakon is supposed to have said to General Eisenhower, "We don't want your troops here, but we don't want them too far away either." The Swedes feel the airfields in Norway aggravate the international tension. "There may not be any American planes there now," they say, "but they could easily get there in an hour."

What opposition to the Atlantic Pact exists within the Labor Party comes from old politicians with a hankering for closer bonds with Sweden and Denmark and

from left-wing groups with a traditional sympathy for Russia. This sympathy was fairly widespread before the 1948 coup in Czechoslovakia. After that the feeling grew that Norway must align itself actively with the West. Fellow-feeling with England was strong, and extensive emigration to the United States had forged warm personal bonds with that country. In addition, there was an economic argument: if the Atlantic powers could not count on the Norwegian merchant fleet, they might feel compelled to build ships which in peace time would compete with Norwegian tonnage.

Norway has only a small standing army, but its full mobilization strength is nearly 400,000 men. Sweden can muster about twice that number. In both countries it is often said that the combination of an "Atlantic" Norway and a neutral Sweden offers perhaps the best solution for the peninsula—one acting as a warning to Russia and the other as a reassurance!

THE Swedes can rattle off a dozen reasons for not joining the Atlantic Pact. The most familiar one is that their joining might impel Russia to occupy Finland. But the decisive argument is of course that they have twice got away with neutrality and may be able to do so



THE BATTLE OF WITS

London Daily Herald

October 13, 1951

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again. "Even if it's one chance in a hundred, we must take it," a prominent politician declared recently.

In Sweden as in Norway the welfare state has reached a high degree of development, but a kind of Bevan-Gaitskell conflict in miniature is going on between Mr. Müller, the Minister of Health, and Mr. Sköld, the Minister of Finance, over the extension of various benefits. Sköld's views have so far prevailed, with the aid of opposition votes. The government has increased military expenditures, though not to the extent demanded by the opposition. Regret over the failure of the Scandinavian pact to materialize is mitigated by the consideration that Sweden as the chief industrial power of the three would have borne the brunt of the financial burden and living standards might have suffered.

Sweden has a curious social and economic structure, with a Socialist government, a strong capitalist class to which the government cannot actually dictate though profits are strictly controlled, and a vigorous trade-union and cooperative movement. The Socialist way of thinking is so strong in Sweden that the Liberals, through their widely read *Dagens Nyheter*, are constantly pressing for a coalition government on the ground that all parties are fully agreed on the broad principles of the welfare state. The Socialists hold, however, that a coalition is apt to paralyze parliamentary action and contains the seeds of totalitarianism. They also claim, with reason, that there are still substantial differences between right and left. The Socialists, for example, favor East-West trade, while capitalist interests oppose it.

With an average family income of almost \$1,500 a year, the general level of prosperity in Sweden is remarkable. The Korean war sent up the price of Swedish exports, and the last bit of rationing—for coffee—was recently abolished. There is full employment in Sweden; there are even labor shortages necessitating the importation of Italian miners and German domestic servants. In such conditions Sweden's problems are psychological rather than economic. One is reminded of the Russian woman who after visiting Sweden exclaimed, "That's how we are going to live under full communism—but then what?"

DENMARK is in a far more dangerous military position than either Norway or Sweden. Only a few miles of country as flat as a pancake separate it from the Soviet zone of Germany. It is not surprising in the circumstances that Denmark is far from enthusiastic about belonging to the Atlantic Pact. It joined simply because after the failure of the Scandinavian pact it had no alternative. Or rather the only alternative, to be neutral like Sweden, was considered too dangerous.

Even so, both the government and the opposition make numerous mental reservations. Almost every Socialist speech begins with something like, "If only the

Scandinavian pact had materialized." Mr. Kraft, the present Foreign Minister, fully supported by most of the other parties, is known to be doubtful about German rearmament, was absolutely opposed to the inclusion of Greece and Turkey in the Atlantic Pact, and desires to develop East-West trade. Alternative markets to Great Britain are eagerly sought, the everlasting complaint being that the adverse trade balance is due less to the high cost of imports than to the low prices paid for bacon and dairy products by Britain. Germany's rearmament, in the Danish view, should at least be postponed until the other Western powers are sufficiently well armed to keep it in order. Objections to Spain's inclusion in the Atlantic Pact are based on the conviction that this, together with the inclusion of Greece and Turkey, would turn it into a plain military alliance, discrediting its democratic claims, and could rightly be regarded by Russia as further provocation. "What if the United States refuses to take your objections into account?" I asked. The reply was a slight shrug, followed by, "We can make it very awkward for them all the same."

The Danish army had to start from scratch after the war, and at first only 300,000,000 kroner a year were spent on it; now the figure has been more than doubled, and a good deal of equipment is coming from the United States. With some difficulty Eisenhower has persuaded the Danes to raise their conscription term from nine to eleven months; but the underlying feeling in the country is still the old *Hvat kan det nytte?*—"what's the good?"—a famous motto based on past military experience.

The Liberal Party, which represents Danish farmers, is openly hostile to the pact. One Liberal leader said he was "all in favor of the Atlantic Pact—but without Denmark." "Our policy," he said, "should be to try to reduce the tension between the two blocs, not to increase it. Why should we not adopt the same policy as Sweden? We do not agree with the argument that we would be left defenseless: we could, like Sweden, buy arms in the United States and no doubt get them cheap. In that case we would have as much—or as little—security as now but a much smaller chance of being overrun by the Russians and, later, wiped out by American atom bombs. For Denmark the main thing is to avoid war, not to organize military defense, which never got us anywhere. That is the dominant feeling in our country, and nobody can deny it. When the Atlantic Pact first came up for discussion we proposed a referendum on whether Denmark should join it or not. In Parliament we were defeated by 119 votes to 30. Parliament knew too well what the feeling in the country was, and rejection of the pact would have strained our relations with the United States."

This Liberal point of view is dismissed by the Socialists, as well as by the right-wing government parties,

as "provincial" and "parochial." But what the Liberals say about the state of public opinion is apparently true, and one is constrained to ask, "Why, then, is Denmark a member of the Atlantic Pact?" The answer is given by one of the Socialist leaders who were in power when Denmark joined: "We would have liked, after the war, to enter a democratic European security bloc not dominated by the great powers. This hope was disappointed. Nor were our democratic friends in Britain and the United States sufficiently favorably disposed toward the Scandinavian pact. The alternatives were to be left alone, unarmed and isolated, or to join the Atlantic Pact. Let us, by all means, criticize the United States when the occasion arises; it can only help. Nevertheless, we are, in every way, closer to America than to Russia. And we must not forget what Marshall aid has done for us."

One reason why the Socialists finally decided to vote for the pact was, of course, their strong anti-Communist tradition; at various times since 1917 there has been bitter competition in Denmark between the Social Democrats and the Communists. Also, Czechoslovakia in 1948 came to them as a severe shock, just as it did to the Norwegian and Swedish Socialists, who were traditionally less hostile to Russia.

The Danish economy, lacking as it does practically all raw materials, is less healthy than that of Sweden

or Norway. Whether full employment can be maintained is the Danish Socialists' chief problem. The present Conservative-Agrarian coalition government has shown alarming signs of wanting to resort to the classic capitalist method of reducing an adverse trade balance by curtailing credit and employment. Some steps have already been taken toward abolishing the sliding-scale of wages, lowering consumption, and tearing down, as one of the present ministers put it, "the outer ramparts of the social services." The government has also been trying by means of taxes on consumption to transfer labor from the textile, tobacco, shoe, and confectionery trades into engineering and other export trades. As a result it is feared that the present 40,000 unemployed may before long increase to 60,000 or more. The Socialist leaders declare that they "will not allow Denmark to adopt the capitalist policies of Adenauer's Germany" and are fairly confident that their strong parliamentary position—their representation is equal to that of the present government coalition—and the pressure of public opinion will help them to limit the damage and preserve for Denmark the "Scandinavian way of life." But it is a hard struggle. In the course of it the United States is blamed for expecting a lot of rearmament, Britain for not paying enough for Danish bacon, and the whole world for having put Denmark in this cursed plight.

TV at the Crossroads

The Educational Promise of TV

BY EDWARD LAMB

WITH television networks finally spanning the country, half the people in the United States are today within range of a station. More people now watch television than attend all our schools and universities. The speech of a Presidential candidate, a session of the United Nations, the signing of the Japanese peace treaty, may be witnessed by more Americans than voted in the Presidential election. Uncle Miltie, Studio One, or the Pulitzer Prize plays may be seen by more people in

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one hour than attended all the motion-picture theaters in the country during a whole week of 1951.

Now that TV's effectiveness as an educational, cultural, and commercial medium is established, the educators, at least, are taking vigorous measures to utilize it. Miss Frieda Hennock of the Federal Communications Commission deserves tremendous thanks for jarring not only the politicians but the teaching profession into the realization that something had to be done immediately if any TV channels were to be available for non-profit educational institutions. Then the National Association of Educational Broadcasters began to move, organizing a Joint Committee on Educational Television, with headquarters in Washington, on which were represented the American Council on Education, the Association for Education Television, the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, the National Association of State Universities, the National Education Association, and other groups.

At the outset the educators came up against the fact that the Federal Communications Commission had imposed a "freeze" on the licensing of additional TV

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stations. Not until March 24, 1951, was this "freeze" relaxed and the allocation of new licenses considered. Hearings are now going on, and a decision making new grants possible may be expected this winter.

In the proposed disposition of both the very high frequencies and the new ultra-high channels, educators have fared rather well, though some insist that the approximately 10 per cent to be assigned to them is inadequate; in the eventual settlement this figure may be raised or lowered. Meanwhile churches, trade unions, farm cooperatives, and other organizations will certainly contend that if schools and colleges receive channels, why should not they?

SOME of us, including a few persons actually in the TV business, say that the reservation of channels for the exclusive use of non-profit-making institutions is not the complete answer. Senator Edwin C. Johnson believes that the present commercial stations should be required to set aside a portion of their time for educational and public-service broadcasting, and there is no doubt that the more the problem is studied the more this solution is likely to be favored. Senator Johnson's proposal, however, raises some questions. Just how is an "educational" program to be defined? Would the requirement violate the constitutional guaranty of free speech? As to the latter, surely the FCC has the obligation to see that stations operate in the public interest, even if it has no right to censor or control program content.

The educators are not entirely pleased with the Ford Foundation's decision to provide funds for experimental programs in the field of visual education which would be placed on commercial networks and even made available to commercial sponsors. The Joint Committee on Educational Television takes the position that the experiment may divert the attention of Congress and the FCC from the committee's proposal to reserve certain channels exclusively for educational purposes.

With only 107 TV operating stations at present in the United States, the shortage of facilities is critical. More than forty cities now have but a single TV station. Such monopoly of control over an effective means of communication may very possibly be abused not only by over-commercialization but by owner discrimination against minority religious, racial, or even educational groups.

It seems to me elementary that the educators of the nation deserve TV channels. At the present time only WOI-TV, the Iowa State College station at Des Moines, is operated by a non-profit institution. In spite of some Congressional criticism and the howls of a few competitors, the undertaking has been commercially successful. The station brings sponsored network shows to Iowa TV-viewers and at the same time performs its

primary function of showing locally produced public-interest programs. Recently it received a grant of \$260,000 from the Ford Foundation for experimental work in educational TV and also to evaluate films for television use.

The State College station, which now has the means to engage top-ranking experts, has presented a series of telecasts which have real audience appeal. Educational TV programs are not always particularly exciting, but the Iowa experiment is developing techniques which will raise them above grade-school levels of showmanship. Such important subjects as housing, freedom of speech, press, worship, and assembly, and other issues of equal urgency have to be "dressed up" to capture the public's attention. By taking advantage of the new techniques, educators with their own stations, free from the time limits imposed on commercial broadcasters, will be able to utilize to the full the visual appeal of TV to bring valuable information to the American public.

Some of the present commercial TV broadcasters are also doing a creditable job in educational programming. The classroom sessions presented in Detroit, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and elsewhere have been useful and interesting. Most TV stations with facilities for local productions will allow these facilities to be used for educational purposes. It is an opportunity not to be ignored, and yet educators are often reluctant to ask for the privilege. Teachers whose requests for contributed video time are refused should bring the matter to the attention of the FCC.

On WTVN, my Columbus outlet, we have an education program scheduled which includes items contributed by the Agricultural Extension Service of Ohio State University, discussions by youth groups, safety and fire-prevention campaigns conducted by the city, art classes, nature courses, and civil-defense instruction. The sole assignment of one of our producers is to line up public-service programs. At my Erie Station, WICU, four colleges put on regular weekly programs. During the winter months the public schools conduct classroom sessions every day. Dr. John Hickey, superintendent of the Erie Board of Education, has assured me that they have been eminently satisfactory from an educational point of view and will be continued.

But the impact of TV upon our thinking and living habits is much too great to permit educational programming to depend upon the beneficence of TV station-owners. Either stations should be required to save a certain amount of time for strictly educational broadcasts or channels should be set aside for the exclusive use of educators, or both. Actually there is nothing much the trouble that a few more outlets would not cure. When they are available, the chief question will not be who shall get them but how we can most quickly bring satisfactory educational television into the largest number of

American homes. It may be that several hundred channels can be allocated to non-profit organizations. But, in all fairness, educators and others who are granted licenses should be required to build stations and put them into use within a specified time or turn back the grants to the government.

How Much Merger in Television?

BY HARVEY LEVIN

ON July 27 the stockholders of United Paramount Theaters, Inc., and of the American Broadcasting Company voted to amalgamate the two companies. The amalgamation is subject, of course, to the approval of the Federal Communications Commission, which is charged with assigning radio frequencies in the "public interest." In view of the importance of the concentration-of-ownership issue and the large amount of money involved (\$25,000,000) the FCC will doubtless hold a public hearing. In any case it will have to consider how the public interest is affected when a theater chain—not some company outside the amusement industry—seeks to merge with a network of radio and television stations. The theater chain in question operates outright 690 movie houses and has a partial interest in another 298; the network owns 5 television and 5 radio stations and provides facilities for 290 affiliates.

No doubt the FCC will be assailed with indignant protests that the legitimacy or desirability of the merger is not affected by the fact that one company owns theaters and the other radio stations—any more than newspaper ownership should prejudice the application of a publisher for a broadcasting license. But is it really in the public interest to concentrate control of mass media in a few hands? Might not a company which owns or is affiliated with both theaters and radio stations be able to exploit these connections to the disadvantage of competitors in both fields? The implications need to be thoroughly explored, for the present amalgamation may foreshadow others of even greater importance.

To date few theater owners have sought to enter radio and television, but several facts suggest that the number is likely to increase. At present theater owners could not obtain television stations in our fifteen largest cities even if they tried, since all spectrum space available there is preempted. But two thousand or more outlets can be set up once the ultra-high frequencies come into use, and then theater owners and movie producers will be able to move into the field. Furthermore, if box-office receipts and foreign rentals continue to decline, Hollywood will become increasingly sensitive to television's inroads.

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Once companies like United Paramount enter the field, how long will Fox, Loews', Warner Brothers, and the others stay out?

Of course if appreciable economies can be effected by joint enterprises of this type they should not be condemned out of hand. Operating a movie theater, however, does not have too much to do with operating a television station. With films forming from 25 to 50 per cent of television programs, there may be some advantage in having men in television stations who know something about the buying and booking of films, but exhibiting films for large theater audiences used to three-hour shows is very different from exhibiting televised films for disconnected groups in homes where distractions are numerous and the small screen presents novel problems of pacing and characterization. Consequently many theater owners have preferred to install television equipment as an added attraction rather than undertake operations aimed at home audiences.

One of the most important issues involved is the effect such mergers might eventually have on the form and quality of motion pictures. For centuries the theater has provided a setting in which people could gather to view a performance under conditions requiring a definite group discipline. Part of the movie theater's appeal may stem from the feeling of the spectators that they are participating in the emotions of others or even that they have momentarily lost themselves in the group. Seeing a movie is not at all the same experience as viewing television at home, and the difference may well be reflected in the art forms which will eventually evolve in the two fields. If the basic appeals of the two media are sufficiently different, television's competition need not be deadly; the film-makers will simply have to develop ingenuity in exploiting their own strong points, as newspapers have done in the face of radio competition.

Competition between moving pictures and television could very well improve the quality of both. Gilbert Seldes recently pointed out that movies still have a large untapped audience—the mature in culture and age. The virtues of the legitimate theater might be approximated if movies could cater to specialized audiences or win at least a measure of freedom from the necessity of pleasing a mass audience made up largely of adolescents.

On the other hand, if television is forced by high operating costs to enlarge its audience still farther in the hope of increasing advertising revenue, the quality of the entertainment may deteriorate. The larger its audience, the more television will have to program for a low common denominator, except in the case of educational offerings underwritten by foundations or universities which have their own channels. Should this happen, people with specialized tastes and interests might become valuable prospects for the movies and radio.

The "specialized audience" is not a new idea or an

entirely visionary one. Ruth Inglis suggested it five years ago in a report to the Commission on Freedom of the Press. More recently authorities like Charles Siepmann and Gilbert Seldes have discussed the question. Last year Samuel Goldwyn warned Hollywood that it must raise the quality of motion pictures if it expected to survive television's competition. Spokesmen for some of the major studios have already spoken of dropping or reducing the number of Class B films, since according to Jack Gould in the *New York Times*, Class A films seem best able to weather television competition.

While the counter-attraction of television will not by itself be sufficient to break the Hollywood taboo against "controversial" or other themes with limited appeal, a change might come about if such themes were demanded by special groups. The pinch of television will force producers to experiment, and eventually perhaps to make a new kind of quality film on a low budget—something Europeans have long known how to do.

When newspaper publishers felt radio's competition twenty years ago their first reaction was to seek affiliations with radio stations. Since then they have learned to adjust to radio. Dropping the afternoon "extra," for example, they have left bulletins to their rival and

turned to detailed commentary and analysis. Most of them also carry radio sections with radio logs, and the reviews of radio and television by men like John Crosby and Jack Gould undoubtedly attract many readers.

When newspapers and radio criticize each other vigorously, the public is likely to benefit by getting more accurate news and better entertainment. But one wonders whether Gould would be able to write his excellent column if the *New York Times* were affiliated not with WQXR but with a major network, whether Crosby would continue to appear in the *Herald Tribune* if the paper owned ten radio stations, and whether CBS would present its fine analysis of the press—"CBS Views the News"—if it were controlled by the *Daily Mirror*. Though the United Paramount case today presents no perfect analogy, it is not unreasonable to ask whether the theater company would not be more interested in showing good films if the merger with ABC should be disallowed. With growing revenues from radio and television advertising accounts, the new combination might gradually forsake films for more television in its theaters, reducing still further the impetus to make better movies. These are some of the questions that the FCC will have to consider.

Britain's Coming Crisis

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IN 1950 Britain's economy, crippled in World War II, seemed on the way to renewed health and vigor. Production had been raised well above the pre-war level; a large domestic reinvestment program for the modernization and expansion of industry was in full swing; the volume of exports had been lifted 60 per cent above that of 1938, making possible a modest surplus in the balance of payments; and while Britain's own dollar gap was still uncomfortably large, sterling-area reserves of gold and dollars were more than double their low pre-devaluation figure. Thus in the fall of 1950 Britain felt able to discard its Marshall-aid crutches.

More than that, the British government believed that the economy could support the rearmament which deterioration in international relations following the Communist invasion of South Korea appeared to render an unfortunate necessity. In September, 1950, Prime Minister Attlee announced a three-year defense program costing \$10,080,000,000. That amount, he told the House of Commons, "represents the maximum that we can do . . . without resorting to the drastic expedients of a

war economy." Nevertheless, four months later the British Cabinet decided that the program should, and could, be enlarged at an estimated additional cost of \$3,080,000,000, even though it was then known that the United States would provide little if any financial aid.

In the eight months that have since passed, it has become clear that the rearmament burden is overtaking the strength of the still convalescent British economy. Superimposed on an export drive which must be maintained at all costs and an internal investment program which can be seriously curtailed only at the expense of future efficiency and productivity, the defense effort has engendered dangerous pressures on Britain's material and human resources. As the Economic Commission for Europe said in a recent bulletin, Britain's economy "is showing every sign of suffering from severe strain. . . . Cost inflation is rampant and toward the end of the year may well be enhanced by demand inflation flowing from the heaviest rearmament program in Europe."

The most dramatic and alarming evidence of that strain was Chancellor of the Exchequer Gaitskell's announcement on October 3 that sterling-area reserves had fallen since July 1 by \$598,000,000, an even greater loss than had been anticipated and one that more than

KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of *The Nation*, has recently returned from a three months' visit to England.

wiped out the gains of the previous two quarters. Before discussing some of the causes and effects of this reversal I wish to take up internal economic developments.

CONSIDER first the position of fuel and power supplies, basic to all industry. Last winter a coal crisis was barely averted thanks to additional efforts by the miners, costly emergency imports from the United States, and relatively mild weather in February and March. Conditions in the coming winter will be no easier and may very well be harder. The trouble is that while production has been rising slowly, consumption has been galloping, with rearmament applying the spur. In the first six months of this year output was 2,600,000 tons higher than in the corresponding period of 1950, but inland consumption rose by 4,300,000 tons. As a result, stocks are little higher than a year ago, even though exports have been halved, to the distress of European countries partially dependent on British coal.

To blame this shortage on nationalization, as so many American commentators do, is to ignore the facts. Actually the modernization schemes of the National Coal Board are producing tangible results: output per man-shift has risen about 17 per cent since the mines became public property in 1946. The basic trouble is shortage of man-power, for the job of mining coal remains unpopular even though miners are among the highest-paid industrial workers. Tens of thousands more men could be profitably employed in the pits, but now that unemployment no longer serves as a recruiting sergeant, most workers prefer less dangerous and dirty jobs.

The shortage of coal is a threat to electric-power production, but the main difficulty in this field is lack of sufficient plant to meet all demands. Yet the building of power stations has proceeded apace since the end of the war, and installed capacity last year was 72 per cent greater than in 1938, with units generated 125 per cent higher. However, this growth is much less than that provided for in the British Electricity Authority's program, which has frequently had to yield its claim on the output of the electrical-equipment industry to competing demand from overseas. Power plant, cables, and other electrical equipment are among Britain's most salable exports, and the need to earn foreign currencies has overridden the urgent requirements of home industry.

With demand for power growing all the time, it will be several years at least before a safe margin of capacity can be provided. Existing plant can now supply a maximum output of 12,000 megawatts, while peak demand is estimated at 13,800 megawatts. Consequently, on dark, cold days last winter power stations were often compelled to resort to "load shedding," idling factories and depriving householders of light and heat. Such interruptions of electric service will almost certainly be more frequent in the approaching winter.

The most serious of all British shortages is that of man-power. Today unemployment is residual: only 200,000 men and women, less than 1 per cent of the working population, are registered as without jobs, while according to a London dispatch to the *New York Times* of August 29, there are half a million unfilled vacancies, mainly in such vital industries as engineering, coal-mining, and transport. Nor is any relief in sight. Britain is suffering, as is the United States to a lesser extent, from the fall in the birth rate during the depression, as a result of which 110,000 fewer boys will reach the age of eighteen this year than in 1939.

The pressure on labor resources can hardly fail to grow more severe. At present there are about 600,000 workers engaged in arms manufacture. When the defense program passes from the present tooling-up stage to that of mass production, at least another 400,000 workers will be required. They can be found only by cutting back production in the non-defense industries—in other words, by reducing the volume of goods available for domestic civilian consumption.

THIS brings us to the problem of inflation, which qualified observers believe is assuming menacing proportions. The primary cause of the "cost inflation" referred to in the E. C. E. bulletin quoted above is the post-Korean rise in prices of raw materials and, to a lesser extent, of foodstuffs—commodities which Britain must obtain mainly from overseas. Their rise is reflected in the United Kingdom index of import prices (average of 1950=100) which jumped from 98 in June, 1950, to 143 a year later. Such sharp increases in raw-material prices were naturally passed on by manufacturers, and in the same period the retail-price index (1947=100) rose from 114 to 126, which in turn brought an irresistible demand for wage increases. Thus between June, 1950, and June, 1951, the index of wage rates (1947=100) advanced from 110 to 119.

These figures suggest that wages have tended to lag slightly behind prices, although the index probably understates the increase in total take-home pay, which is being swollen by up-grading and overtime. Nevertheless, there has been no falling off in civilian purchasing, which in the first six months of this year was running about 10 per cent ahead of 1950—clear evidence that current incomes were being supplemented by savings in efforts to stock up before prices rose further. In the past few weeks a change in trend has been noticed. The fall in raw-cotton and wool prices has stimulated buyers' resistance, and some textile prices have declined. However, this check is very likely to prove temporary. As the rearmament program takes on more momentum it will tend both to add to the total of cash incomes and to diminish the volume of consumer goods available by attracting resources from civilian industries. Thus infla-

tionary pressure is bound to increase unless steps are taken to curtail purchasing power.

The need for such a disinflationary policy is heavily underlined by the decline in the sterling area's reserves during the past three months. Since June these reserves have been cut by nearly one-sixth, the greatest loss in a quarter since 1949. In announcing this "sharp setback" Mr. Gaitskell stressed the partial responsibility of a number of temporary factors—seasonably large purchases of American cotton and tobacco, a seasonal decline in sterling-area sales of wool and cocoa, the cost of replacing Iranian oil, some government stockpiling, and large seasonal purchases in Europe resulting in the disbursement of \$106,000,000 to the European Payments Union. However, after making full allowance for such factors, it is clear that the sterling area as a whole has been living beyond its means, increasing its dollar purchases far more rapidly than it has added to its dollar receipts.

Britain's foreign-trade returns tell a similar story. In the first six months of this year imports totaled £1,643,000,000, and exports £1,305,000,000, leaving an apparent deficit of £338,000,000. Net invisible receipts—shipping income, interest on foreign investments, and so forth—make a net adverse balance of £122,000,000, which compares with a surplus of £42,000,000 for the first half of 1950.

A major cause of this change is the deterioration in Britain's "terms of trade": that is to say, the prices of its imports have risen far more than those of its exports. At the moment the trend of prices is slightly more favorable, but as long as the armament-fed boom continues, no permanent improvement in the terms of trade can be expected. Over the past fifteen to twenty years world production of primary commodities has failed to keep pace with the growth of population and industrial capacity; so that food and raw materials have become relatively scarcer than manufactured products.

In order to keep solvent Britain must therefore endeavor to expand exports to the utmost while curbing imports. That means that home consumption both of imported goods and of domestic manufactures for which there is a potential foreign demand must be drastically cut. This end may be achieved to some extent by reducing British home investment, but not a great deal can be done in this way without impairing efficiency: indeed, a greater investment in labor-saving machinery is required. The real choice of the next British government, which will be installed by the electors on October 25, seems to lie, therefore, between modification of the arms program and a fairly drastic reduction in the national standard of living. I shall examine the political implications of this dilemma in a second article.

Copper, Chile, and Communism

BY CARLETON BEALS

TWO world wars burned basic resources at a disastrous rate, and now world-wide rearmament has again stepped up the tempo of consumption. Of the three essential metals for rearmament—steel, copper, and aluminum—copper is in scarcest supply.

Despite a tariff on copper, the United States has shifted since 1940 from a copper-exporting to a copper-importing country. Today it imports about a third of the copper it uses, and the amount is certain to increase. The chief outside sources are Canada and Chile. Now supplying 45 per cent of our copper imports, Chile must supply two-thirds or more in the next few years, since Canada's domestic needs have tripled since 1940. Without Chilean copper our industrial and defense position would soon become desperate. Chile, for its part, depends on its exports of copper, which represent 60 per cent of its total exports; the employment and the high

tax revenues provided by copper are important props of the Chilean economy. These benefits might be even greater, Chileans believe, if 90 per cent of production were not controlled by American companies.

With copper in short supply, Chile is in a better bargaining position today than ever before. Yet it has had to accept the price of 24½ cents a pound fixed by the United States. Chileans are resentful that this price, while doubtless sufficient to return a profit to the American companies operating in the country, is only half the world price, and only half our own black-market price.

It can be assumed, of course, that Washington officials did not fix the price for Chilean copper without consulting Anaconda and Kennecott—the two companies with large holdings in Chile. Both of these companies are organized on vertical lines—that is, they are engaged not only in mining but in manufacturing; Anaconda, for example, manufactures copper alloys, copper wire and cable, and brass products. Vertically organized companies are not too concerned over a higher price for imported copper, since a low or moderate price makes it difficult for competing firms to open new mines. Inde-

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pendent fabricators who compete with them for the domestic market are additionally handicapped by the fact that the price they must pay is always higher than the domestic price by the amount of the tariff. And in periods of short supply domestic manufacturing competitors are driven to seek supplies on the black market at prices as high as 40 or 50 cents a pound. The more Chilean copper sells for on the world market, the higher are the manufacturing costs of foreign competitors.

THE war forced Argentina and Chile into intimate economic relations after fifty years of bickering. Chile and Bolivia followed Argentina's lead in remaining neutral, and Chilean trade, previously divided among Germany, England, and the United States, was re-routed; by the time peace came Chile was selling more to Argentina than to all Europe, and its imports from Argentina were twice the pre-war figure. Toward the end of the conflict, however, Washington began to use loans and promises to induce Chile to break with the Axis and redirect its trade to the United States.

After the war, Perón made heroic efforts to continue the close war-time economic relations with his neighbor. Chile was hard hit by the abrupt curtailment of war orders, and Argentina had accumulated such large dollar and pound credits that in 1946 Perón could offer Chile a loan of \$175,000,000—the biggest in Latin American history, five times the total war and post-war financial aid which Chile has received from the United States. As additional bait Perón offered Chile a treaty and trade agreements which provided that Argentina was not to build any synthetic nitrate plants, that tariffs were to be abolished and new highways constructed across the Andes, that coal was to be exported from Argentina's vast new beds in the south via the Chilean port of Aisen, and that the two countries were to back each other's Antarctic claims against Britain. Real body was given these proposals by the completion of the trans-Andean railroad into Antofagasta, which provided a feasible Pacific outlet for northern Argentina.

Chile was not, of course, without fear of the consequences of a close alliance with Argentina. But the Radical Party, which had elected its candidate for the Presidency, Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, favored the Argentine deal, and Gonzalez had shouted loud pre-election denunciations of "Yankee imperialism." Moreover, he could not have won the slim plurality that put him into office if he had not received 50,000 Communist votes. But a nine-million-dollar loan from the United States, plus twenty-three millions to build the great Talcahuano steel mill, plus an outlet for Chilean copper, when copper was not in short supply, decided the issue. The Argentine treaty was voted down.

The Communist-controlled coal miners promptly went

on strike. Wages were around forty cents a day, conditions were miserable, and a soaring inflation undercut the effect of the raise offered by Gonzalez. When his offer was rejected, troops were sent to the mines. The Communist Party was then outlawed; Communist publications, including the daily *Siglo* of Santiago, were suppressed; and five Communist senators and fifteen Communist deputies, one of whom was the well-known poet, Pablo Neruda, were arrested. Relations with the Soviet Union and two other East European countries were broken off. Protest strikes flared up in the nitrate fields and copper mines but were suppressed.

The turbulence which followed these repressive acts might have been avoided if effective measures had been taken to control inflation and improve living conditions. But almost nothing was done along these lines. In consequence, the factions supporting the President lost heavily in the last municipal elections, and it is feared that Carlos Ibañez, the harsh "Socialist" dictator of the thirties, who set the first colored-shirt troops marching in South America, may rise to power.

In this general political confusion the people have found a perfect scapegoat—the foreign-owned copper and nitrate industries. Waves of strikes have wrecked Cabinet after Cabinet in the past two years. The people are convinced that Chile is getting too little for its copper, just as the Iranians are convinced that Iran is getting too little for its oil. Popular protest forced Gonzalez to stop copper shipments to the United States early this year. As a result President Truman had to release part of our six-million-ton stockpile and cut the quotas of our European allies.

The United States was forced to take steps in Chile to save its rearmament program and, in American terms, to insure the country's political "stability." Point Four funds were hastily appropriated; other loans were promised; and Under Secretary of State E. G. Miller was rushed to Chile to make a new copper deal. As part of this deal, signed last May, the United States consented to add a three-cents-a-pound bonus to the price of Chilean copper, and the Chileans in turn agreed to restrict domestic consumption and foreign sales to 20 per cent of their total production.

But aside from the larger tax revenues obtained from increased production, the Chileans got few benefits, and the foreign markets in which copper brought sky-high prices were in effect shut off. Nor did President Gonzalez convince the people that he had won a great victory over the Yankees. Many noted wrathfully that plans to build an independent refinery, as promised more than ten years ago, were sidetracked again. And in the wake of the settlement, on June 9, the technicians in the copper industry went on strike, demanding pay raises in American dollars, not in inflated pesos. After three weeks of martial law a compromise was finally

arranged, but not before a nation-wide protest strike had been scheduled. In passing, it should be pointed out that President Truman invoked the Taft-Hartley act against striking American copper miners, despite the fact that one of the American companies had reached an agreement with the unions.

Higher prices for copper would not necessarily bring improved social and economic conditions in Chile. Inflation would have to be checked and other measures taken. But the price of copper is still the key factor in the relations between the United States and Chile. If the United States were to "jigger" the price upward, explains Mobilization Director Charles E. Wilson, our European allies would get even less of the 20 per cent of Chilean copper now available to them. On the other hand, if conditions do not improve in Chile, how long can the United States expect to receive the lion's share? What Chile needs is integrated economic development plus social reform. Increased revenues from copper could be used to finance such a development.

The Hollywood Hearings

BY HANNAH BLOOM

Hollywood, October 2

WINDING up a four-year investigation of communism in the film industry, the House Subcommittee on Un-American Activities departed from Hollywood in the manner of carefree picnickers who, having enjoyed the sunshine and flowers, feel no concern about the mess they leave behind. The committee was in the mood to put on a good show before the television cameras, since it had been able to force the capitulation of civil rights and economic freedom in the motion-picture industry. The seven days of testimony only pointed up the fact that economic sanctions are more effective than jail sentences. Shameful as the procedures and motives of the investigating committee have been, the final disgrace rests with the movie producers, directors, and various guilds of actors, writers, and artists who have consented to become a corps of mercenaries.

Last March, Joyce O'Hara, vice-president of the Motion Picture Association of America, announced: "Film names who do not firmly deny their associations with Communist or Communist-front organizations . . . will get short shrift from the picture industry and will undoubtedly find difficulty getting jobs in the future." Any shadow of doubt that this meant a black list has been eliminated, though industry officials are still shy about calling it that. Neither denial of present Communist membership nor repudiation of past affiliations will

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guarantee employment. Job security can be assured only through the vehement denunciation of persons or groups which the committee has condemned and the incrimination of others. It became obvious during the hearings that some ex-Communists, in a desperate attempt to convince their employers they had reformed, were picking names out of the air. Those blasted in such capricious fashion have been dismissed from their jobs and will not be reinstated unless they, too, turn informer. After hundreds of names had been inserted in the record, an industry spokesman said: "Anyone who has been named has an opportunity to clear himself by making a complete denial to the Congressional committee. The allegations are presumed to be true if a denial is not made."

Although the black list only carried the committee's investigation to its logical conclusion, Chairman John S. Wood was not willing to accept responsibility for it. "As far as the activities of this committee are concerned," he said, "there is no attempt to blacklist anybody." However, he added that he would be "extremely happy" if the committee could be "instrumental in eliminating from the field of public entertainment the views of people . . . who decline to answer a question as to whether or not they are members of the Communist Party."

The blind fear which had led the film industry early in its history voluntarily to adopt a stringent censorship code may account for its willingness to sell the remnants of its integrity for a vague promise that it would not again be haunted by a Congressional investigating committee. In the middle of the Hollywood hearings producer Samuel Goldwyn said in a magazine article that censorship "has robbed us of much of the vitality and vigor that is essential to creative effort." Under economic compulsion the film-makers have indorsed a program which the late Dixon Wecter, speaking of the University of California loyalty oath, described as "shooting Alma Mater to save her from rape."

That the malice, distrust, and suspicion displayed during the hearings were contagious was shown by the public's reaction to the testimony of the last and most prominent witness. Sidney Buchman alone refused to divulge names because it was "repugnant" to his "freedom of conscience," not because he was legally protected from doing so. Few persons could believe that moral principle, self-respect, and personal honor could be so highly cherished; the less honorable and less courageous could only impugn his motives. Mr. Buchman had made the "sharp truth ring, like golden spurs," but it sounded on ears deafened by fear and evil.

P. S.—Columbia Pictures announce in *Variety* for October 3 that Kenneth Bierly, formerly with *Counter-Attack*, has joined its staff to take charge of "contacts with veteran groups" and similar matters.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Forrestal's Diaries:

A Rich Lode

THE FORRESTAL DIARIES. Edited by Walter Millis with the Collaboration of E. S. Duffield. The Viking Press. \$5.

THESE diaries of the man who was our first Secretary of Defense are the raw stuff of history, not history itself, although they have been given dimension by the editing of Walter Millis, who has brilliantly arranged them and written background notes setting each diary entry into focus. We are still too close to the events described to reach final judgments. The fact that Forrestal was deeply disturbed by the State Department's failure to develop a policy to prevent the Communist conquest of China means little unless we are told—as we here are not—that to “save” Chiang Kai-shek probably would have meant the use of American troops. A willingness to adopt this grim stratagem was implied, at least, in General Wedemeyer's reports and recommendations, but that is not mentioned by Forrestal or by those who today hurl political charges of blundering and appeasement at General Marshall and Secretary Acheson. What we have in Forrestal's diaries, therefore, is primarily a fascinating—because contemporaneous—disclosure of the ways in which our democracy works, a rich lode of gossip and revelations about people still active in politics, and the record, somewhat sketchy, of an intensely patriotic and honest man who fought hard to defend our national security amid the rising tensions of the cold war. There is not much in what Forrestal himself wrote—Millis supplies a bit—that shows the acute sensitivity of the man, the spiritual agonies he must have suffered in his private life and his struggles over policy, so that when he was propelled out of office he was so lonely and shattered that suicide seemed the only escape.

To dispose of the political revelations—which would never have been made in their present form at the present time had Forrestal lived—let me

cite, as an example, the delicious sense of amusement in the White House when Eisenhower warned Truman in 1947 that MacArthur might run for the Presidency and MacArthur at the same time warned against Eisenhower's ambitions. Also, Robert A. Taft's letter congratulating Truman on his victory over Dewey—Taft wrote that as the President might gather, neither he nor his wife was particularly disappointed in the result of the election. Or—to disclose something about our Secretary of State—the statement that the allegedly pro-Soviet Acheson wanted to answer Yugoslav attacks on our planes in 1946 by “an immediate and aggressive use of American air fighter power over Yugoslavia,” and had to be calmed down by General Norstad, who pointed out that we lacked the planes and trained pilots. Or—to disclose something about Forrestal himself—that his notion of how to deal with Henry Wallace's proposed trip to London in 1947 (this was when Wallace opposed Truman's foreign policies) was to deny Wallace a passport. The President had to say that he thought this would be unwise.

The solid part of the book covers the successive crises with which Forrestal had to deal in his period of high responsibility from 1944 to 1949. There were apprehensions of war over Trieste, the Berlin blockade, the Russian coup in Czechoslovakia, and a sudden alarm conceived on March 5, 1948, by General Lucius Clay. Domestically, the military-unification fight was a long-drawn-out crisis for Forrestal. Thinking in “global” terms, as befits a Navy Secretary, he battled to preserve the navy's integrity from the encroachments of the totalitarian air force strategists. A geopolitician, he insisted on secure American rights to strategic islands in the Pacific which he and Secretary of War Stimson considered “of primary importance not merely to the security of the United States but of the world, and essential to the success of any world security organization” (March 30, 1945).

Forrestal began worrying about the

Soviet Union certainly as early as September 2, 1944, when he wrote that anybody who suggests that “we act in accordance with the needs of our own security [is] apt to be called a god-damned fascist or imperialist, while if Uncle Joe” claims all that Russia wants, “all hands agree that he is a fine, frank, candid, and generally delightful fellow.” Beginning April 2, 1945, when he learned of “serious deterioration” in our relations with Russia that had forced Roosevelt to send a “strong message” deploring Soviet pressures, Forrestal packed his diaries with copies of Averell Harriman's gloomy reports from Moscow. George Kennan's remarkable analysis of the sources and nature of Soviet power eventually became for him, as for many others, a sourcebook and guide.

He was dismayed as he saw the American people insist on practically instantaneous and complete demobilization after V-J Day. He fought for universal military training as the only means of supplying minimum man-power to support our diplomacy. As Secretary of Defense in 1948 he fought for more money for the armed forces than Mr. Truman and the Bureau of the Budget were willing to give him, but when he lost he apparently bore no grudge; at least he did not leave the Cabinet. Now, of course, we are spending four times what Forrestal wanted, but Korea has intervened. It is well to remember that if we are reasonably well organized today to defend our national integrity and the integrity of the free world, Forrestal deserves much of the credit.

WHAT does not emerge from Forrestal's diaries, even with the assists from Millis, is the nature of the man and the quality of his social understanding. He was moved solely by patriotism when he supported the Arabs against the Jews on the Palestine issue—as a navy man he was worried about fuel for his ships. He seemed genuinely and deeply shocked when neither Republicans nor Democrats would aid his recurrent efforts to “lift the Palestine issue out of politics,” and repeatedly

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records his depressing failures. But whether he understood the real force of the Jewish drive for a national state, after the bitter experiences of Jews under Hitler, is less clear than the respect he had for 400,000,000 Moslems sitting on the oil fields of the Middle East. Yet it was not the existence of Israel which inflamed Iran against Britain and the Anglo-Iranian Company.

A Wall Street banker serving the New Deal, Forrestal also was a student of affairs, a philosopher, a widely read man. After a visit to Britain he reread Bagehot's "The English Constitution"—and, as every newspaper reader knows, he read Greek tragic poetry. But he was vehement in 1947 about the "intellectual muddlers" who had run the country "for ten years," and he warned that unless "practical people" could work miracles of reconstruction the "crack-pots" would demand another chance. He had a naive faith in the capacities of business men to restore order, create job opportunities, and rebuild the world to stability, and was obsessed with apprehensions of proletarian revolt. In 1945 he had a sharp clash with Harry Hopkins at the British embassy, and apparently he never saw any distinction between British socialism, Soviet communism, and what he called spending our own way into economic collapse. If he realized that his ardently championed business men were precisely the people in charge of world affairs when economic dislocations shook the established order and thus created his lifelong apprehensions about intellectual left-wingers and the threat of revolt, there is no sign of it here.

I think Forrestal was a true representative of Burnham's managerial class—the élite of the business world who handle vast affairs, give guidance to technicians, experts, and lawyers, and conduct corporate enterprises. He harbored a notion in 1947 that we should no longer "underwrite the stability" of the British Labor government unless it would quit acting, in its own country, like a freely elected Labor government. Yet Justice Douglas in 1948 wanted him to run for Governor of New York or United States Senator, and in relation to obvious Soviet attempts to capture all of Korea Forrestal was concerned that we were dealing

primarily with Korean exiles who had been educated in the West. He wrote to friends that he disliked public life, but many signs suggest that he yearned for a political career.

He would be content, perhaps, to rest on a summary that he placed in his diary on April 25, 1947:

It was manifest that American diplomatic planning of the peace was far below the quality of the planning that went into the conduct of the war. We regarded the war . . . as a ball game that we had to finish as quickly as possible, but in doing so there was comparatively little thought as to the relationships between nations which would exist after Germany and Japan were destroyed. The United Nations was oversold; sound in concept and certainly the only hope for improvement in the world order, it was built up over-extravagantly as the solution to international frictions that had existed for centuries. Now there is a danger of its being cast aside by the American public in a mood of frustration and disappointment.

WILLARD SHELTON

Soviet Patterns

SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY. By Margaret Mead. The Rand Series. McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$4.

SCRAWLED on the back of the truck lumbering along Route 1 was the motto "We Haul Dead Communists Free." Not so long ago dead Japanese used to be offered this kind of free transportation. With the regrouping of victors and vanquished, the Japanese have become our brave democratic allies, and the Soviets, formerly democrats in the eyes of many intellectuals, are now the totalitarian monster. The masses can change one word in a slogan, while cabinets are caught in the death dance of power politics, whose measures they no longer tread with understanding.

If international power politics calls the tune for our daily lives, what is the political importance of culture, personality, social structure, national character, and the other abstractions of contemporary social science? In the slim volume under review Margaret Mead brings to bear upon this problem her training as an anthropologist and her gifts of imaginative insight into human relationships.

The method of analysis, in recent years the source of rising hackles in academic circles, marches under the banner of "national character" and "culture and personality." To her professional colleagues Dr. Mead's reply to the critics of this method and the statement of its assumptions will be among the most interesting pages in the book. According to this informal and lucid credo the major variables in human behavior are culture and personality. The human child is born into a going system, in which it acquires, from early childhood on, attitudes and solutions to the problems of life. This acquired equipment constitutes an important part, though by no means the total, of adult personality. In turn the personality reacts upon the culture, perpetuating it in most cases, altering it in others. This is such a condensed summary of the author's viewpoint as to approach travesty, but at least it may suggest the essential fruit of the marriage between psychology and anthropology. Sociologists sometimes criticize the formula, with a faint aroma of injury and neglect, for omitting what they regard as a crucial third variable—social structure. Actually Dr. Mead's analysis makes use of social structure a high proportion of the time. Many of her explanations of the way people think and act are couched in terms of the relationship of group to group or individual to individual. Fortunately Dr. Mead is not a pedantic purist and does not limit herself rigidly to her profession of scientific faith.

In her opening pages she sets down the complex series of questions to which this study seeks at least partial answers. At the factual level there are three related problems. First, what are the recurring patterns of behavior between those in authority and those under authority in Soviet society? Secondly, what is the relationship between this behavior and Bolshevik ideals? In working out this relationship it seems to me that Dr. Mead does not distinguish very carefully between ideals about the way people *ought* to behave and rather general Soviet notions about the way people *can be expected* to behave. The third problem is to determine the consequences of the effort to remake the pre-revolutionary Russian character into the "new Soviet man." For the pre-revolutionary Russian character she ac-

cepts as proved the quite debatable conclusions of her co-worker, Geoffrey Gorer. There is a danger here that brilliant hunches may be built up into an accepted scientific mythology by a process of pyramided quotations. From the answers to these three questions the author attempts to appraise the internal strength of the Soviet regime and to throw light on the possibilities and limitations of international compromise.

In working toward her conclusions Dr. Mead ranges over many topics—from the Russian and Communist idea of absolute truth and its bearing on political compromise to beliefs about personal and collective guilt. The degree to which her analysis carries conviction varies equally widely. There are times when a vivid illustration has to carry more weight than it can bear. At other points, as in her discussion of the conflict between the need for rigid control over the masses and the leaders' desire to elicit from them a maximum of zest, she cuts to the heart of the matter. Her specific interpretations present too rich a haul for critical analysis here. While many of them parallel the deductions of workers in the field who have used radically different approaches, others are genuinely new.

The central thesis of the report is that there is a strong contrast between Bolshevik ideals and the behavior necessary to survive in Soviet society. This contrast, Dr. Mead asserts, may produce increasing apathy among the population. In turn, the apathy must be counteracted by increasingly strict controls, all in a vicious spiral. Although the conclusion is not novel, the interpretation of the evidence is frequently highly suggestive.

As Dr. Mead's report was prepared by an agency that does secret research for the federal government, its implications for policy-makers deserve as much critical attention as its scientific argument. Rand is to be congratulated for exposing some of its work to intellectual fresh air, especially since the "national character" approach to politics has until quite recently been confined to confidential Washington memoranda. The political significance of Dr. Mead's study lies in its contribution to the understanding of the strength and weakness of our opponent.

If, however, policy-makers or the public attempt to extend this approach to an interpretation of Soviet behavior in international affairs, extreme caution and skepticism are demanded. To understand Soviet behavior in Berlin or Korea, I do not believe that one has to penetrate the mysteries of the Russian soul. At best this knowledge plays third fiddle to a sharp perception of the forces generated by a world-wide power struggle. These forces transcend both Russian and American society and limit closely the choices open to the leaders of each. Confined to a bureaucratic hot-house, this variety of social science could encourage the form of self-deception which sees something strange and extraordinary in every Russian action. Such self-deception contradicts the intention of the author by clouding the power issues between the Soviets and us.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.

Myth and Irony in Thomas Mann

THE HOLY SINNER. By Thomas Mann. Translated from the German by H. T. Lowe-Porter. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

BEFORE saying why I find this novel the most successful piece of fiction Thomas Mann has written since "Mario and the Magician," I suppose I must make clear just what my opinion of the main body of his work is. I consider Mann the master of many kinds of tedium—the most oppressive of them being the over-elaboration of platitudes in the name of philosophy (as in much of "The Magic Mountain") and a certain heavy-handed after-dinner type of humor which he constantly confuses with valid irony (as in the Joseph stories). His earliest work I find it impossible to reenter with any real pleasure; "Mario and the Magician" I consider moving, though limited in a way not untypical in the politicalization of its symbols; "Death in Venice" is quite wonderful. In general it is in his longer works that Mann is betrayed into the sort of self-indulgence which in the end forces the reader into the position, at once bored and respectful, of the listener before the great man who just talks too much.

"The Holy Sinner" has the advan-

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tage of briefness—though briefness is no infallible amulet for Mann, as witness "The Transposed Heads"—and this time that briefness reinforces a considerable amount of wit and charm. One never has the time to discover that beneath the play of irony a sense of humor is lacking, and that under all the *adresse* no real gracefulness is present; in this case, it truly doesn't matter. The actual language of the book is impossible; that nevertheless it somehow *works* gives the whole thing an extra fillip. Mann has fantastically decided to retell his ancient story in a kind of Spenserian fake archaic un-language, but in one that out-Spensers Spenser: for in "The Holy Sinner" (I have glanced at the original and in this respect the translation seems quite faithful) the narration is supposed to seem at once reminiscent of Middle English, Old French, and Middle High German—to become an anonymous language of a relatively undefined pastness. That Mann manages to bring this off is no less than astonishing.

Like all his longer fictions—with the exception of "Lotte in Weimar"—since

the Joseph stories, this book is a frank retelling of an older story, but this time Mann seems to have picked more wisely, and to stand in a better relationship to his material than ever before. One does not sense here the unconvincingness of his stance before an unremittably alien tale as in "The Transposed Heads"; nor is one constantly thrown back on making comparisons with previous renditions of greater literary excellence, as with the Joseph and the Faustus myths. There is no feeling here even momentarily that Mann is down-grading his material, no uneasy suspicion that one is dealing with a kind of ignoble parody. The story of the legendary "Pope Gregory" appears in the "Gesta Romanorum" and has come down to us in three main recensions—English, French, and German—but none of the tellings belong to the first rank of literature or the conscious center of the European tradition.

The Gregorios saga joins together a Christian fable of repentance, penance, and forgiveness—in Mann's recasting a swiftly paced coda—quite absurd and touching, and a double in-

cest story that in two slightly differing versions has been long and widely diffused, though it has never, lacking a Sophocles, touched the heart of the West like the simpler Oedipus myth. In one archetypal version of the story a mother-son incest is succeeded by a brother-sister incest—the most famous examples appear in the "Heptameron" and a suppressed Gothic play by Horace Walpole; in the other, the brother-sister incest precedes the relationship between mother and son; in both cases, the first act traditionally is consciously entered upon, the second unwittingly, a blind consequence of evil following the choice of sin. It is the latter version with which Mann works, and one which in placing the main emphasis upon *Geschwisterinzeist* seems more in accord with a concern deep in North European mythology that Mann has previously touched on in his "Blood of the Volungs."

In Mann's rendition of the ancient tale one can see the typical modern attitude toward myth, the attitude whose spectrum stretches all the way from a John Erskine to Joyce and Eliot, and includes, if one is willing to extend the ranks beyond literature, anthropologists and psychoanalysts. Indeed, the ironic attitude, our attitude, as it appears in Mann has been tempered in the findings of the social scientists, who make it possible at once to deny and accept, to question and assume what the myth tells us. It is interesting to compare Mann's treatment of the Gregorios story, the tender smile that never becomes a snicker, the careful preservation of the *absurdity* of the tale of abomination and election as its central truth, with earlier approaches.

A truly archetypal story cannot disappear—in a world in which no one reads, it is whispered by neighbor to neighbor as the latest truth—and as it wells up in all its incompatibility into a world pledged to some fixed system of evaluation and belief, it must somehow be dealt with. Of course, to the simple in the beginning, and to the child always, it is "just a story"—that is, an unanalyzed complex *all* of whose possible meanings are allowed free and simultaneous play. Later the trouble begins.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages

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the rational Christian compilers of the "Gesta Romanorum" preserved the tale but excised its "impossibility" by *allegorical* interpretation; a little appended explanation told the worried that this was no actual man marrying his mother who was also his aunt but in reality Christ, offspring of a union between body and soul, making a new alliance with the soul.

In the world of the nineteenth century, which survives in some quarters down to our own time, a new rationalism replaced the old; *scholarly* or *historical* interpretation took the place of typology; and the recurrent myth was explained as an invention of fifth-century churchmen to propagandize against the remnants of a supposed pagan practice of incest. (Walpole had anticipated this by a hundred years, turning the retelling of a closely related story into a diatribe against "papish superstitions.") And right now a *psychological* interpretation is busy telling us that the archetypal story is a projection of repressed infantile wishes or a mythicized account of the "integration of personality."

It is back through the long history of rationalistic awareness that Mann recasts the story, and his irony makes it possible for him to preserve what those insights have gained without committing himself to their single-minded reductions, and without giving up what centrally the myth is concerned with preserving: the sense of the ridiculousness of reality, the incompatibility of the given with any system of metaphysics or morality, however complex. Of the fact that in our world the acceptance of the absurd by which men once totally lived has been reduced to an occasional limited act of quasi-faith before a work of art, Mann is aware—and this adds a dimension of pathos to his work, which finally declares: here is the nature of sin and election, if we could only be sure there were, after all, such things as sin and election in the first place. The only reality the storyteller knows is the reality of the *telling* of a tale whose truth can never, this side of the fall from naivete, be attested. To assert this with irony and pathos and charm is the achievement of "The Holy Sinner."

LESLIE A. FIEDLER

The New Middle Class

WHITE COLLAR. By C. Wright Mills.
Oxford University Press. \$3.

THE dominant image of American character is that of an independent figure, the business man or craftsman, who makes his way up the social scale by hard work, shrewdness, and integrity. Whatever its validity a century ago, this image—like the ideology behind it—no longer aligns with reality. Often enough it is an imposed product of institutional advertising and other, less blatant kinds of propaganda. Among intellectuals it retains a curious subterranean power: liberals of the ADA variety modulate it into the notion that America is still a fluid society without a sharply defined class structure.

"White Collar" is a slashing attack on these assumptions about the shape of American society. High-spirited, polemical, and often brilliant, it begins with an account of the gradual decline of the property-owning middle class, which comprised 33 per cent of the gainfully employed population in 1870 and 20 per cent in 1940, and which has lost even more of its power within the business world than these figures might suggest. "Many of the remaining four-fifths of the people who now earn a living do so by working for the 2 or

3 per cent of the population who now own 40 or 50 per cent of the private property in the United States." Eighty years ago "there were three-quarters of a million middle-class employees; by 1940 there were over twelve and a half million." These employees—executives, fixers, bureaucrats, salesmen, technicians, office workers, communication and amusement specialists—form the new middle class, the world of the white collar.

A sociologist indebted to Marx and Weber, Mills displays large gifts for social description, often of a kind one expects from the superior novelist. He is very keen in distinguishing the effects of occupation upon status, and the grueling psychological cost of what he calls "the status panic." With quick, bright strokes he portrays the numerous strata of the new middle class: the fixers who "adjust" relations between one business and another or between business as a whole and the public, skillfully preying on their employers' expectation that nothing can now be done quite legitimately; the middle members of the business hierarchy who cautiously jockey for position, often serving merely as relay posts for orders from the top designed for robots on the bottom; the traveling salesmen who are losing part of their traditional independence, the very cant they feed to

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retailers being carefully predetermined; the lawyers who shape their offices in the bureaucratic image of the corporations they serve; the department-store sales girls whom Mills playfully divides into such categories as charmer, ingenue, wolf, drifter, collegiate, and old-timer; the office girls whose work becomes increasingly mechanized; the academic sociologists who are turning into research agents for enlightened business and government agencies, studying morale instead of morality.

Despite their large internal range of income and status, these groups have several things in common: they do not perform manual labor and therefore can enjoy the privilege of wearing street clothes at work, they seldom produce goods but must sell their services and personalities, they are concerned not with crafts or creative skills but with

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the manipulation of symbols, and they fit neatly into those bureaucratic behemoths which sprawl over modern society. In behavior, they often conform to what David Riesman calls the other-directed character type: they are motivated by an anxious need to gain the approval of their contemporaries, whose pressures come to them either directly or through mass-communication media. ("White Collar," by the way, corroborates "The Lonely Crowd" in many ways.) And while the members of the new middle class receive a large share of the national income, they lack the aggressiveness and cohesion needed to exert political power. Celebrated in our mythology as the backbone of the nation, they behave like little men, conformist and bewildered. In a sense they are worse off than the factory workers, for they sell not only their labor power but their personalities too, having to shape themselves according to the glad-hand stereotypes of "go-getting" and "sincerity." ("If your wife can't balance a teacup," reads an advertisement for *Fortune*, "it may not matter how well you balance the company's books.")

Such descriptions must, of course, be taken with a little salt; Mills often resorts to the economy of caricature, his portraits suggesting tendencies rather than fully accomplished facts. But his mordant book does hit upon the main drift of our society—and when Horace Kallen attacks Mills in the *New York Times* for not mentioning the "positive, creative developments" in the new middle class he might trouble to specify what those developments are.

Mills concludes that the new middle class will follow "the panicky ways of prestige" in the short run and the pulls of power in the long run; it will, he says, choose only after its "choice" among contenders for power has won. Doesn't such an analysis underestimate the significance of political programs? The German experience indicates that in moments of crisis this class, or parts of it, will turn to the movement which seems to offer the most dynamic solutions of the problems of society. In Europe today Stalinism, which has certainly not yet won, has a considerable attraction for the new middle class.

Otherwise, I have only minor criticisms. Unaccountably, Mills says nothing about the school teachers, surely a most

important section of the new middle class. To balance his sketch of the fixer in industry, he might have added a page or two on the "think-man" in the unions, usually an ex-radical selling verbal fluency and guilty memories. It would have been good if he had included comments on the reasons why the Communist Party found its strongest support in America among the lower ranks of the new middle class, and the reasons why these lower ranks have been swept by a pathetic eagerness for the purchase of culture. Sometimes Mills is too sweeping in his statements: from his rather crude section on the professors one would hardly gather that there are still many dedicated people in the universities doing their work for limited rewards.

And I must quarrel a bit about his style. He writes far better than most sociologists or, for that matter, most literary people; but he lets his genuine gift for the striking phrase run wild and neglects the larger units of composition. "White Collar" is exciting to read; but exhausting. Mills's occasional tone of tough, professional power-consciousness is also disturbing; after all, white collars are worn by people, and when one sees how those collars tear into human flesh it would not be amiss to give way to a little grief.

But it is not these weaknesses, I suspect, which will trouble some of the academic sociologists. "White Collar" is likely to be attacked for its strengths: Mills will be accused of being an "impressionist"—he does not hesitate to use his imagination or to quote Balzac—and, worse yet, of not being "objective"—he resists the modish acquiescence in the status quo.

For "White Collar" is thoroughly radical in its point of view. It is a pleasure to come upon a book rebellious in its political values and entirely free of both Stalinism and that professional anti-Marxism so much the rage these unhappy days; a pleasure, as well, to find a political writer who has enough wit not to take the flush of war economy as evidence of social health. If a few more voices as strong and bold as that of Mills were raised, one might hope for the revival of a free radical wing, which is today the greatest need in American intellectual life.

IRVING HOWE

The NATION

Tirades and Notions

SAMUEL BUTLER'S NOTEBOOKS.

Selections Edited by Geoffrey Keynes and Brian Hill. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.75.

THIS carefully edited book is a selection from published materials which are no longer easily available; there are also a few hitherto unpublished gleanings. The editors have taken those notes which, they think, "give the best picture of the range of Butler's mind and the diversity of his interests." The result is by turns entertaining, boring, and—I use the word with care—shocking.

Anyone who has read "The Way of All Flesh" will remember how abounding that imperfect novel (it should be read at seventeen) is in convictions—many of them stemming from the great tradition of nineteenth-century rationalism, many of them merely notional—assertions, tirades, and serious hatreds. They all turn up in the notebooks: a strong dislike of the family as an institution; the strongest disapproval of organized Christianity; the strongest contempt for Darwin; the strongest enthusiasm for the music of Handel, emphasized by consistent sneers in the direction of Bach and Beethoven; the strongest opinions about literary matters—Butler believed, for example, that the "Odyssey" had probably been written by a woman, and he had a theory about Shakespeare's sonnets; the strongest objection to the painting of Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Rossetti, Watts, and Burne-Jones—"No words can express my dislike of Burne-Jones." And so on.

Unhappily most of these passionate formulations no longer move us. Just as many of the epigrams which bedizen "The Way of All Flesh" turn out, once adolescence is past, to be over-emphatic or to bear no relation to any actual state of affairs, so many of these notes have worn badly. Often they explain the self-evident or what we already know, though it is not from Butler that we have learned it; or they flog the horses of dead controversies.

If many of the subjects of Butler's earnest thought are no longer relevant, there is, of course, no reason why his writing about them should not captivate. The difficulty lies in his sensibility and

in his prose. He was certain that common sense, a faculty never adequately defined in the notebooks, was the key to the problems of life; epigram and paradox were his chief means of imparting it. Consider these typical pronouncements:

The vanity of human wishes: There is only one thing vainer than this, and that is having no wishes.

Unmarried men very rarely speak the truth about the things that most nearly concern them; married men, never.

The best music should be played as the best men and women should be dressed—neither so well nor so ill as to attract attention to itself.

In each, accuracy, insight, and feeling have been sacrificed to a rigid verbal pattern. Further, one reads them as one listens to the unsolicited cosmic pronouncements of the stranger on the subway platform: they are obviously true; they are false; they need qualification. In no event is there any point in argument.

This lack of intellectual play dominates that self-portrait which, as Butler said, a man's work is always painting. For all his manifold interests and his enormous taste for life ("Is life worth living? This is a question for an embryo not for a man," he explodes at one point), the portrait does not create sympathy. His carefully tended hatreds are shocking to read about, for they show so little real human feeling. He was no doubt right about the badness of nineteenth-century English painting; his family was probably as dreadful as he says. But it is simple hatred and not serious judgments that his frequently oracular statements on these and other topics convey, forcefully stated but never resolved.

The notebooks are best when Butler is not riding his various hobby-horses. He was a skilled amateur painter and musician, and his eye and ear are good. When he talks about what he has seen or heard or felt without allowing his turn for the epigram or his notions or his hatreds to dilute his impressions he is entertaining and wise:

Sunday: The great and terrible day of the Lord.

Myself and the literary and scientific bigwigs: I am the *enfant terrible* of literature and science. If I cannot, and I

know I cannot, get them to give me a shilling, I can, and I know I can, heave bricks into the middle of them.

I do not know whether my distrust of men of science is congenital or acquired, but I think I should have transmitted it to descendants.

Mrs. Boss: She said she wished the horn would blow for her and the worms take her that very night.

... when I am dead there will be other reviewers, and I have already done enough to secure that they shall from time to time look me up. They won't bore me then, but they will be just as odious as the present ones.

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Verse Chronicle

THE enterprising and zealous house of Twayne Publishers, devoting itself exclusively to poetry, has recently issued three volumes: "The Catch," by T. Weiss (\$2.25); "Where the Compass Spins," by Radcliffe Squires (\$2.25); and "Immediate Sun," by Rosemary Thomas (\$2.50). Miss Thomas's book was selected by Archibald MacLeish as the winner of the 1950 First Book Contest, and is introduced with a foreword by him. Some of Miss Thomas's poems are a little forced, or self-conscious, and she is

somewhat inclined to overwork the word "pain"; in others the emotion comes through with both force and simplicity. Mr. MacLeish is right in finding this work accomplished; I am not so sure about the idiom being characteristic: it seems, as yet, too unsettled, venturing, rather tentatively, in too many directions, sometimes at once. Which, of course, is all right, and a good way to be beginning.

Mr. Weiss turns a firm sentence, and is adroit in the vernacular of the current trend. This chronicler, however, is old-fashioned enough to prefer the poet who makes more demand on the resource of rhyme, and would like, within the line, something more than firmness and a succession of images and symbols. In other words, the lift of a melody once in a while. Mr. Squires has a satirical imagination, obsessed, or maybe only preoccupied, with spectacles of decomposition, a pleasant change from the works of ladies who write poemsies, but in and for itself a little too much. Like most of his generation, Mr. Squires writes very competently: could it be that there are getting to be too many teachers of creative writing around our universities these days?

"Atlantic City Cantata," by Hugh Chisholm (Farrar, Straus, and Young, \$3), has its moments of high and low spirits, quite funny in spots, rather depressing in others. More of the intended dramatic character might be realized in a staged production; from the text alone, the character of the crowd, the auctioneer, the innocents, the flagpole-sitter, the three graces, and the two guys does not emerge too clearly, nor are their respective idioms sufficiently distinct, so that they sometimes seem less themselves than creatures of Mr. Chisholm's ventriloquism. And like many a less secular cantata, this one is

also much too long and repetitious, so much so that some of the light-hearted nonsense, at which Mr. Chisholm is very good, breaks down into boring inanity.

For the instruction of groundlings "who have had," as the editor puts it most politely, "comparatively little experience in the reading of poetry" Professor Stephen F. Fogle, of the University of Florida, has compiled "A Brief Anthology of Poetry" (American Book Company, \$1.50). Both the price and the size of the book are right for the undergraduate pocket. The book is a pleasure to hold in the hand, to take out and read under the trees. The selections are varied: Herrick, Wordsworth, Wyatt, and anonymous writers of ballads share the pages with Auden, Betje-man, and the well-known author of Macavity the Mystery Cat. Humorous poetry is happily included. The notes and queries in the back of the book may seem almost over naive, but just that kind of disarming pressure is often very sound pedagogy, God forgive us the term. Highly recommended, with one word of caution to teachers who get it for their classes: don't try to push it too hard, let it take itself easy.

On a much higher plane than anything mentioned so far we have "The Selected Writings of Paul Eluard," translated by Lloyd Alexander (New Directions, \$3.50). There are prefatory remarks by Claude Roy, Aragon, and Louis Parrot. Many of the poems are those written during the occupation and the resistance, in which Eluard, equally with Aragon, was a leading organizer. It is Claude Roy who, in his preface, makes much of the fact that Eluard is both a happy man and a good one, a fact possibly more worth bearing in mind than all our candidates realize. So that, because of the man, it means more than it otherwise might when you see the words, or hear on a record the voice saying:

Je dis ce que je vois
Ce que je sais
Ce qui est vrai.

The French text is included, facing the translation in this book.

The Spanish text is included, facing the translation, in "Poems of St. John of the Cross," translated by Roy Campbell, with a preface by M. C. D'Arcy, S. J. (Pantheon Books, \$2.75). Here

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we are really in the ethereal empyrean, though, for all the exaltation and ecstasy, the great mystic never loses sight of the ground. Mr. Campbell's translations are, on the whole, very good, though now and again his insistence on rhyme leads him into some padding and adjectiveness which soften the great direct force of the Spanish original. In general, however, the translations are of considerably more value than that of serving as a pony for the opposite page. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT. By Ralph M. Wardle. University of Kansas Press. \$4.50. Any reader who wants all the available facts about the author of "A Vindication of the Rights of Women," the first wife of William Godwin and the mother of Shelley's Mary, will have to refer to this book. Unhappily the facts are decked out in the worst professorial English, so larded with "would haves," "must haves," and "probablys" that one grows dizzy shuttling between actual events and banal conjectures and comments. A paragraph detailing adequately Mary's refusal to alter her prose to suit her publisher concludes: "Mary was not the woman to surrender herself to others' suggestions." Or we learn of her affair with Gilbert Imlay that "he was doubtless flattered by the attention of so distinguished a woman, and welcomed a passing affair with her. But the enduring sort of love that Mary craved was quite beyond his ken." This kind of writing might be somewhat less objectionable if it did not appear intended to make biography sound like bad fiction.

LETTERS TO BENVENUTA. By Rainer Maria Rilke. Philosophical Library. \$2.75. "Which that Boggs boy," remarked Old Hickey in one of Alfred Henry Lewis's Wolfville stories, "always was a eediot." Reading these letters to Benvenuta (Magda von Hattingberg), one is tempted to jump to the same conclusion regarding Rainer Maria Rilke. Yet there is something touching, something disarming, in their defenselessness, their noble protestations and self-justifications, their apologies, their wanting-to and wanting-

not-to at the same time. And there is also the same sense, recognizing Proust in 1914, that had earlier recognized Cézanne before anybody else did. The silliness, to be sure, was considerable, but it was outlived by the gift.

Art

MANNY
FARBER

A LOT of people I know are at the edge of complete disintegration, want to give life up or trade it in at any moment; I'm at the edge." This fiery corn comes from the mouth of Larry Rivers, a twenty-eight-year-old romantic whose canvases, bleeding with "compassion" and bursting with bravura, reflect the several depots of his jolting journey—the Bronx, the Hans Hoffman assembly line, the new Bohemia. His latest paintings, exhibited this month by Tibor de Nagy, indicate that he is only a year or so away from a top position in avant-garde art if he doesn't waste away in jitters and torment ("Been very nervous . . . I keep waking up all scared"). Rivers is close to being a rare, natural dauber—a painter's painter on the order of Bonnard and Rouault, if you can imagine such a slapstick marriage; and he thus neatly snags both the aesthetic and the sentimental brass rings on the culture carousel. At his opening I heard an Elsa Lanchester-type zealot say that Rivers's stuff is as wonderfully oblique as Faulkner's, and this I suppose is true in that the younger man's work offers a Faulkner-like view of local (New York) misery—turmoil, exasperation, nostalgia; Lesbians, rabbis, Fire Island cottages, all tied together by a tireless, gushing, rhetorical crosshatching of strokes. Sometimes the superimposed texture is excitingly incorporated in the compositional structure, as when it helps to build an abstract chunk of atmospheric space between one head and another; more often it is an unintelligible self-indulgence, burying the picture in a vagueness of feathers, flax, or mud.

Rivers is so taken up with the stereotyped sloppiness of present-day "intra-subjective" painting that he loses any chance for playing with such powerful and subtle machinery as shape, contour, three-dimensional composition. But the

important thing today seems to be all-over pattern, and Rivers certainly gets that, both with his texture and his bushy, succulent islands of color—Bonnard's "spots" blown into broccoli. Indelicacy permits him to beef up his canvas by taking advantage of the heavily mixed hues that find their way on to most contemporary palettes; he slams together endless combinations of pure pigment, working always for total ripeness with an unpleasant, mustardy zing and sweat; then he indiscriminately lodges these concoctions in ropes or bundles so as to establish a clumsy balance throughout the picture. The paint sweats or dries flat over a surface made luxuriously

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by Thomas R. Amlie

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Francis Downing in the Commonwealth,
Aug. 3, 1951

"In this remarkable book Mr. Amlie has assembled the only meaningful history of our modern Congress. For what he gives is the actual voting record of Congress on leading issues for that period of time. The roll calls on such things as Taxation, Public Power, Labor Legislation, Civil Liberties, Foreign Policy, etc., are here, all set down. An enormous task of painstaking research has been accomplished by Mr. Amlie. For he has listed the votes, on 660 chief roll calls, of 531 of our Congressmen."

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Violet Gunther in The Nation, June 23, 1951

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Wm. E. Bohn in the New Leader, June 18 1951

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scummy by wild underbrushing, but the color is always visceral, acid rich, and so contemptuously and angrily applied as to be visually exciting. Unconcerned with grace, Rivers builds stolid archaic forms: take the trundled coffin in his huge cemetery opus; simply by cross-hatching a squarish white hulk out of dark space, he makes the casket assume the solemnity and grandeur of something finger-painted by Courbet.

All his techniques are self-deprecatory, mournful, destructively mushy; it is a grandiloquent sentimentality rooted, I imagine, in the orthodox-Jewish tenebrous life which provides most of his subject matter. It is this—plus the commitment at an early age to the sophisticated smear-drip-run academy of New York abstraction—which could so restrict the gifted Rivers to a rut of soulful exhibitionism that he might never grow up to be more than the Gershwin of the easel.

Richard Pousette-Dart, on the other hand, is something close to the Bobby Thomson of the spontaneity boys, as well as one of the unheralded pioneers of their group. With the quiet assurance of a man who keeps to himself and the untroubled reflexes of an Eagle Scout, he continues to knock out clean, competent, elegant, decisive line drives. Working with the tirelessness, dependability, and shrewdness of a good

mechanic—he loves gadgets—and the unerring taste of one who was buried in art from his eighth year on by a poet mother and a painter father, Pousette-Dart is a jack-of-all-trades (painting, sculpture, jewelry, photography, poetry, vegetarianism) who has had one or two impressive shows every year since 1941, when he introduced what was to become the bread-and-butter technique of the automatic school.

Now on view at the Betty Parsons Gallery—and drawing that inevitable question from the witless: "Tell me, are any of these paintings Pollock's?"—his recent output amounts to sculpture on canvas, veneered with an amorphous, glamorous crust of bright molecular color and half-remembered shapes (necklace, streamer, baroque vase) from the entire history of modern art. Each huge phantasmagoria is latticed horizontally and vertically like a many-paned early-American window over which some Martian has drawn his concept of the innards of an Elgin watch. A typical picture shows a field of gems built to ponderous thickness by every means of application except water pistol, coerced into a moody, earthy feeling by over-emphasis of texture and weight of pigment at the expense of true luster. Though the surface is imbued with deep red-salmon (or denim-blue or forest-green) fluorescence and jammed with mosaic-like bits of astonishing warmth, there is an over-all flatness, muteness, and sullenness of tone that one associates with the closeted sensitivity of the deaf.

In fact, Pousette-Dart deliberately subjugates beauty to his own hygienic gear-and-lever religiosity ("I want to do the mysteries of wheels, put magic into bicycles . . ."), and paints this part of himself into his pictures shrewdly and treacherously, without falling back on the formula of so many of his colleagues who know what their so-called "automatic" oeuvres will look like before they even start smearing, splattering, and scumbling. Yet his works, though momentarily impressive, merely nudge rather than move the spectator. Like a Hemingway story, they present a perfection of tasteful styling and impact that becomes close-mouthed and incommunicado at all points beneath the skin.

The other openings, including the

long-in-preparation Ensor exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art, seem less important than those of Rivers and Pousette-Dart. I will try to discuss the Ensor another week; I certainly suggest that you see it. Less certainly, I recommend these other displays: Lehmbruck and his Weltschmerzian friends (Valentin); Alfred Russell's dizzy skating on an isinglass ground (Peridot); Hugh Weiss, one of Dr. Barnes's last students (Hacker).

Music

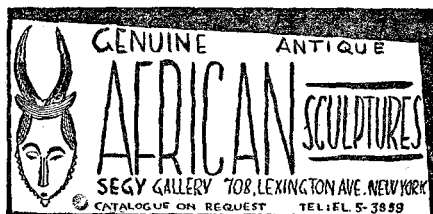
B. H.
HAGGIN

URANIA'S Lieder Recital by Tiana Lemnitz offers three unfamiliar and uninteresting songs of Schubert, a few occasionally pretty ones of Cornelius, and a couple of good ones by Wolf, and lovely singing except for the tremolo in the upper range of Lemnitz's voice. Gritty surfaces.

The tremolo is absent from Lemnitz's performances (with only piano accompaniment, regrettably) of Wagner's Wesendonck Songs, which are not all as extraordinary as "Im Treibhaus." On the same Urania record are Lemnitz's shrill, tremulous performance (with orchestra) of *Dich, teure Halle* from "Tannhäuser" and her better singing in the duet from "Lohengrin," in which there is also the beautifully fluent and sensitive singing of Franz Völker. No texts for the opera excerpts; surfaces a little sputtery.

The magnificent contralto voice of Margarete Klose is heard, on another Urania record, in a number of mostly declamatory songs of Schubert, and is most impressive in the declamation of an excerpt from Monteverdi's "Arianna" (in German) and the sustained phrases of *Ombra mai fu* from Handel's "Xerxes" (in Italian) and *Che farò* from Gluck's "Orfeo" (in German), the end of which is distorted by the recording. No texts for the opera excerpts.

RCA Victor's LP record of Schubert songs sung by Marian Anderson reveals the fact that the voice has lost much of its beauty in its upper range and is not always securely on pitch. The lower range, however, still has the extraordinary timbre and voluminous richness



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which give impressive effect to the second part of "Der Tod und das Mädchen" and to the differentiation of the three voices in "Der Erlkönig." These, and the "Ave Maria" which calls only for sustained legato singing, are her best performances; in the other songs the life that must be created by phrasing is contributed by the piano-playing of Franz Rupp—e. g. in the accompaniment figures of "Die Forelle." Bass must be stepped up to give the piano sound sufficient body; the crackling surface of my record gets very noisy at the end of side 2. No texts.

Mahler's song-cycle "Kindertotenlieder," similar in expressive content and idiom to the concluding song of "Das Lied von der Erde," is sung on a Columbia record by Kathleen Ferrier with the Vienna Philharmonic under Bruno Walter, and on a Urania record by Lorri Lail with the Radio Berlin Symphony under Rolf Kleinert. The Urania performance is good, but less effective and moving than the Columbia with Walter's richer elaboration of detail and the splendors of Ferrier's singing. On the Urania record is also a good performance of Mahler's early "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen" by Josef Metternich, baritone, with the Radio Berlin Symphony under Leopold Ludwig. Both records are not quiet, and get very noisy at the end.

Alban Berg's concert aria "Der Wein" is sung by Charlotte Boerner with Werner Janssen's Orchestra on one side of a Capitol record; and the other side has a commentary and an analysis of the piece by Alfred Frankenstein of the San Francisco *Chronicle*. Mr. Frankenstein explains (insufficiently, I think) the twelve-tone-row procedure of the piece; he also analyzes its structure (questionably, I think) as another example of Berg's use of instrumental forms—in this instance a one-movement sonata-form overture or symphony—in his vocal writing; and he ends with a repetition of Berg's advice that the listener concern himself not with the instrumental forms of the music of "Wozzeck" but solely with its expressivity—which would seem to make Mr. Frankenstein's rather expensive analysis unnecessary. Concerning myself solely with the expressivity of "Der Wein," I find that unlike "Wozzeck" it has none for me in relation to

its text; nor does it have any for me in and for itself. The performance seems good; surfaces are very poor.

Except for two fine extended choral sections at the beginning and end, Schütz's Passion according to St. John is mostly recitative which after a while did not hold my interest. The performance on the Renaissance record is a good one by the Stuttgart Choral Society and soloists directed by Hans Grischkat.

The six cantatas that make up Bach's Christmas Oratorio are performed on four Renaissance records by the same chorus with soloists and orchestra directed by Grischkat. As in Bach's other cantatas the choral sections, and particularly the chorales, are beautiful and moving, but the soloists' arias are, to my ears, dull. The chorus and solo bass are good, the other soloists adequate, the playing of the orchestra a mere production of the notes without anything that could be called phrasing. Bass must be reduced; surfaces are noisy.

A fine work of Handel, his Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, with imposing choruses and beautiful arias, is well performed (in German, regrettably) on a Urania record by the Rudolf Lamy Choir, a lovely soprano, Lore Hoffmann, and excellent tenor, Walter Ludwig, and the Radio Berlin Symphony under Artur Rother.

Another good work of this type, Handel's Dettingen Te Deum, is on a WCFM record, less well performed by the Chancel Choir of the National Presbyterian Church and undistinguished soloists with the National Gallery Orchestra under Richard Bales. Several numbers suffer from the failure to fill in the harmony between bass and melody. Surfaces are not quiet; bass must be stepped up.

Mozart's Mass K.192 is interesting in the way its small scale compels him to crowd an effective expressive stroke into almost every successive phrase of the Credo; but there is beautiful sustained and developed writing for the soloists in the Benedictus, and the Agnus Dei is also very beautiful. It is well performed by the Salzburg Mozarteum Chorus, soloists, and orchestra under Hermann Schneider. On the same Lyricord record are the imposing Dixit and Magnificat K.193. Bass and treble must be reduced to minimum; surfaces crackle.

CONTRIBUTORS

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly *The Nation's* Washington correspondent.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR., a research associate at the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, is the author of "Soviet Politics: The Dilemma of Power."

LESLIE A. FIEDLER has departed for Italy, where he will teach during the winter at the University of Rome.

IRVING HOWE has recently published a critical biography of Sherwood Anderson. He is also the author, with B. J. Widick, of "The U. A. W. and Walter Reuther."

ERNEST JONES, who regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation*, is a member of the English Department of Queens College.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES has published several volumes of poems. His most recent book is a translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

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Letters to the Editors

Washington's Ober Law

Dear Sirs: I have been interested in your coverage of the rash of test oaths currently being inflicted upon educators and civil servants. I don't believe I have seen anything in *The Nation* on the Washington State situation, and I hasten to assure you that we have been by no means immune to the present epidemic. In the last session of the state legislature a duplicate of the Ober law was jammed through at the last minute and in the total absence of hearings. July 1 was set as the deadline for oaths to be submitted by all state, county, and city employees. Under penalty of perjury signers had to swear they were familiar with and understood the loose definition of subversion in the law and that they were not subversive persons. Since no organization has ever been legally declared subversive in the state it would take a more penetrating mind than mine to understand why anyone should be asked to state that he is not a member of any organization which some official may decide at some later date to name. Heaven help the civil servant whose crystal ball happens to be out of order, because if he guesses wrong about what's going to be found subversive he is liable to a long stretch in prison. It need hardly be said that the

concept of loyalty by coercion cuts to the heart of the Bill of Rights.

At least two employees stood on principle and refused to make the compromise on July 1. Some Seattle employees, including myself, submitted the required statement, but appended our own remarks below our signatures. These varied from a simple statement, "not willingly signed," to longer, more detailed protests. Some time in August the Seattle Civil Service Commissioner turned these over to the Corporation Counsel for an opinion as to whether or not we had complied with the law. The result was an ultimatum which in effect ruled out such protest and made it clear that we could not sign unwillingly or with any reservations, but that we had to sign and *like it*. As there was not enough time allowed to put up any kind of organized resistance, it was a yes-or-no proposition. Two of us voted no, and Seattle is now minus the services of a fire department clerk and a librarian.

However slight the individual contributions which we made to the general protest against these measures, I am sure none of it is lost and that the cumulative effect of all the voices raised in defense of civil liberties will play a part in stemming the tide of witch-hunting and thought control.
Seattle

JEAN E. HUOT

The C. O. in Double Jeopardy

[In printing a condensed version of the following letter in our issue of July 28 an inadvertent editorial error changed the meaning of one sentence. We are happy to reprint Mrs. Eaton's letter in full with our apologies for the error.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: I am glad to see in the current issue of *The Nation* a letter about the plight of the conscientious objector in this country. It is a disgraceful situation.

At the time of the war-criminal trials in Nürnberg, some of the accused pleaded not guilty on the ground that they were personally innocent of the atrocities they had committed because they were only obeying orders of their superiors. The American judges ruled that that did not exonerate the individual, who should have acted in accordance with the dictates of his conscience.

In this country, when a man follows his conscience and refuses to obey orders to become part of a machine organized for the purpose of murdering his fellow-men, American judges operate on a different principle and sentence him to prison.

Into the bargain, after a conscientious objector has served the sentence imposed for non-registration in Selective Service, through some legal quibbling he is often brought again to trial and again sentenced. This is obviously double jeopardy. In a recent case of a young Quaker who had served his sentence for non-registration, he was retried on such trivial counts as failing to report for physical examination (a part, of course, of the formalities of registering) and sentenced to five years on each of three counts: fifteen years—the same sentence given one of the atom-bomb traitors! The judge apparently couldn't face the outcry over this obvious miscarriage of justice and, although he refused to reduce the sentences, allowed the three of five years each to run concurrently. There are many conscientious objectors now in the same situation, and while the letter of the law against double jeopardy may be carried out, it is patent that the spirit of the law is disregarded.

HELEN S. EATON

Braintree, Mass.

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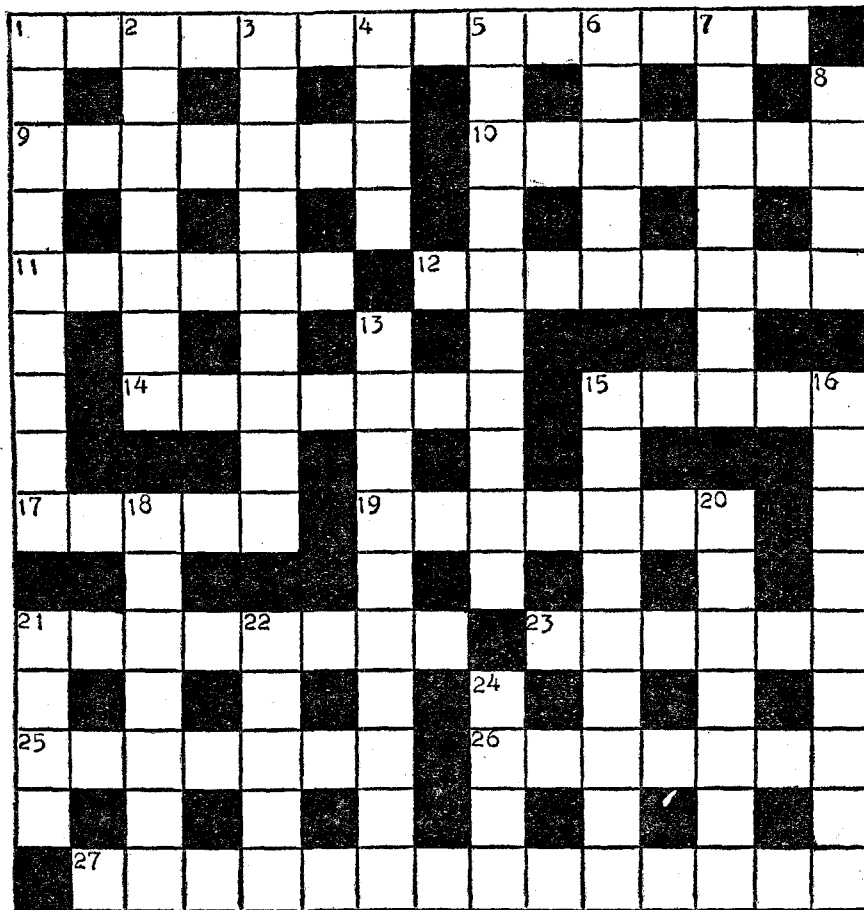
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10/13/51

Crossword Puzzle No. 434

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 21 down, 9 across. Implying parts of midget batteries should be associated with good receiving apparatus. (6, 8, 4, 3, 4)
- 9 See 1 across.
- 10 Goes over head or overhead. (7)
- 11 Eventually by the sole repair station. (2, 4)
- 12 This about sums things up. (3, 2, 3)
- 14 Humbles. (7)
- 15 One might do this while pressing his suit. (5)
- 17 He's an unusual sort of poet. (5)
- 19 This follower starts off with a pound, and ends up with a dollar change. (7)
- 21 Ground hog in its other form. (8)
- 23 Put away. (6)
- 25 A freshman is supposed to be so inexperienced. (7)
- 26 Flirted, in more ways than one. (7)
- 27 The way to a southern university? (3-4, 7)

DOWN

- 1 Bookkeeper? (7)
- 2 Language like touchwood? (7)
- 3 Attractive to lose and a burden to rock. (7)
- 4 and 8. Such duties of the clergy are no longer spoken. (8)

- 5 Sensitively, yet with difficulty. (10)
- 6 Part of Hispaniola. (5)
- 7 Substitute corded fabric with open-work. (7)
- 8 See 4 down.
- 13 Dog fish going to bed with its tail not up? (10)
- 15 Hamlet said the first was the last, but just a bauble. (9)
- 16 Unquestionably the way Clyde died! (9)
- 18 The end of an alcoholic might be to slip over a fast argument. (4, 3)
- 20 13 might have such a functionless digit. (7)
- 21 See 1 across.
- 22 Arbutus does. (5)
- 24 This sort of path was high at Memphis. (4)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 433

ACROSS:—1 CONDITIONS; 6 and 8 OVER-
RING; 10 PATIENT; 11 USHER IN; 12
COUNTING HOUSES; 14 TYPIFIED; 15
HAWAII; 16 EPARCH; 18 ARTISTIC; 22
THE TRUMP OF DOOM; 24 AMAZONS;
25 INVOICE; 26 DUTY; 27 CARTWRIGHT.

DOWN:—1 CAPACITIES; 2 NO-TRUMP; 3
and 23 IDENTIFICATION CARD; 4 IN-
TENSE; 5 NAUGHT; 7 VERBENA; 9
RHEUMATIC FEVER; 13 CIRCUMVENT;
17 ATHWART; 19 REPRINT; 20 TOOTING;
21 RUSSIA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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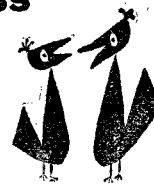
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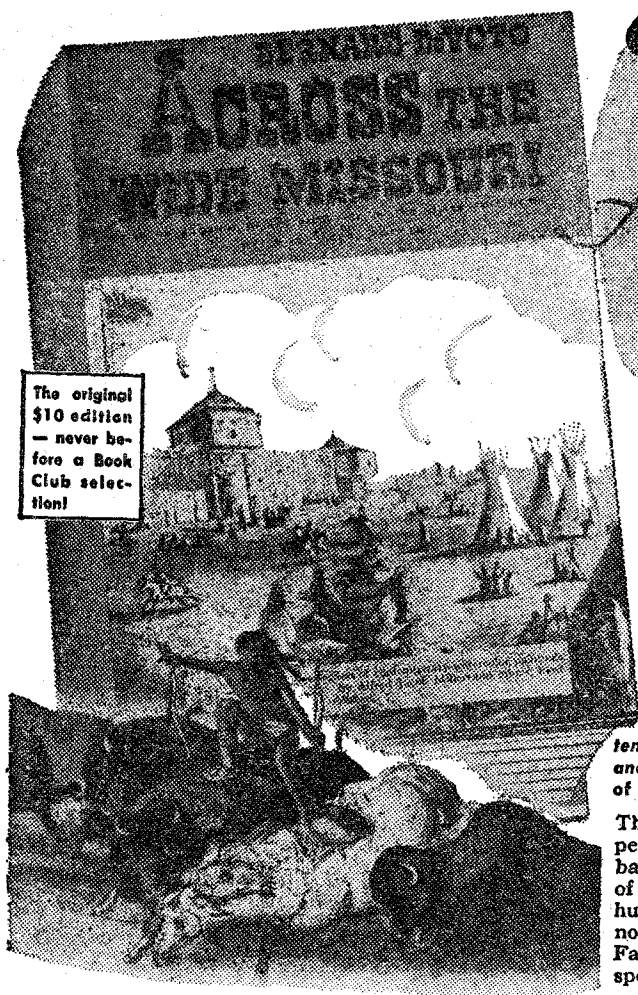
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